

Child and Parent Correlates of Racial Socialization in African American Families

Tanée M. Hudgens

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of Psychology (Developmental).

Chapel Hill  
2012

Approved by:

Dr. Beth Kurtz-Costes (Chair)

Dr. Vonnie C. McLoyd

Dr. Jean-Louis Gariepy

Dr. Carol Cheatham

Dr. Anna Bardone-Cone

## ABSTRACT

TANEE HUDGENS: Child and Parent Correlates of Racial Socialization in African American Families  
(Under the direction of Beth Kurtz-Costes)

A model of racial socialization is proposed that can be used as a framework to better understand the nature, antecedents, and consequences of parent race-related practices in African American families. The model is described in detail and parts of the model pertaining to child and parent predictors of the frequency of three racial socialization subtypes (preparation for bias, cultural socialization, and negative messages) are examined in a longitudinal sample of African American parent-child dyads. Reports from youth and parents were incorporated. One aim was to examine the congruency of parent and youth reports of racial socialization and the quality of the child-parent relationship as a characteristic that may shape the relation between the two perspectives. Results indicated small, positive correlations between parent and child reports. Child-parent relationship quality did not moderate the congruency of parent-child reports. Latent growth models were used to examine changes in cultural socialization and preparation for bias practices from Grade 5 to Grade 12. Racial socialization did not change over time. Next, child gender, parent racial attitudes, and parent received racial socialization were examined as predictors of the frequencies with which parents transmitted racial socialization. No gender differences emerged. According to parent reports, parents who received more preparation for bias, cultural socialization, and

negative messages as children engaged in these practices more frequently with their own children. Negative messages results were also replicated with child reported views. Parents who believed they lived in a racially hostile environment were more likely to transmit preparation for bias messages. The last set of analyses examined racial socialization practices utilizing latent profile analysis. Two clusters emerged: a moderate positive profile and a high positive profile. Profiles were examined for differences in parent and child characteristics. Again, no child gender differences were found. Higher educated parents and parents who received more childhood preparation for bias were more likely to be in the high positive cluster compared to the moderate positive cluster. No parent racial attitude differences were found in profile membership. Implications for future research are discussed.

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## INTRODUCTION

During adolescence there is increased identity exploration and awareness of membership in social groups such as those based on gender, ethnicity, and race (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989). African American youth may have particular challenges during this time as they become increasingly aware of the racialized nature of society and the consequences associated with their membership in a racial minority group. The first body of research on this topic, which was written about 25 years ago, revealed that African American parents were concerned with the racial barriers and negative stereotypes their children may encounter and wanted to ensure their children were proud of their racial heritage (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Toms, 1985). The concerns of African American parents are not unfounded; a growing body of literature documents frequent experiences of discrimination and their associated deleterious consequences for African American youth and adults (Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). In response to concerns about child well-being, parents attempt to prepare their children for bias, teach racial history, instill pride in their racial heritage, and promote high self-esteem (Peters & Massey, 1983; Tatum, 1987). The process through which these practices occur, which has been termed *parental racial socialization*, is conceptualized as ways through which “parents shape children’s learning about their own race and about relations between ethnic groups” (Hughes & Johnson, 2001, p. 981).

Racial socialization, which is believed to be one of the most important parenting tasks for African American parents (McAdoo, 2002), is viewed as a protective process that promotes resiliency in minority youth. Optimal racial socialization is associated with positive identity

development (Barr & Neville, 2008; Murray & Mandara, 2002), higher self-esteem (Harris-Britt, Valerie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007), increased ability to cope with prejudice and discrimination (Neblett, Shelton, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006), better psychosocial well-being (Bennett, 2007; Davis & Stevenson, 2006), and improved academic outcomes (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGennaro, 2009). Although scholars have substantially increased our understanding of the nature of racial socialization and links between racial socialization and a host of predictors and youth outcomes, they have not yet described an overarching model of racial socialization in African American families (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Additionally, many fundamental questions have not been answered or fully explored. Most studies linking the content and frequency of racial socialization to child and parent factors have done so relying solely on one perspective--that of either the parent or the child. While these reports have provided insight on racial socialization practices, the full process of both perspectives may not be accounted for. Another limitation of the extant literature is that the majority of studies on racial socialization practices have used variable-centered approaches (Hughes et al., 2006). Use of a variable-centered approach focuses on subtypes of racial socialization in isolation from other types, and ignores the influence of the combination of multiple types of messages within persons. Person-centered analyses allow for a better understanding of the synergistic impact of multiple types of racial socialization messages. Person-centered approaches, such as cluster analysis and latent profile analysis, allow for both the measurement of specific types of racial socialization while simultaneously creating typologies of racial socialization.

The purpose of this work is to propose a model of racial socialization and to test parts of the model. In the proposed study, parental racial socialization is viewed as a process that is



influenced by child, parental, and contextual factors. Aspects of the model pertaining to child and parent predictors of parental racial socialization practices will be examined using both variable-centered and person-centered analytical strategies. Both parent and child reports of racial socialization will be incorporated.

Parents vary in the content of the racial messages they transmit and the frequency with which they transmit them (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). Among these socialization messages are those that prepare children for discrimination experiences (preparation for bias); those that teach Black history and instill pride in the Black race (cultural socialization); and those that highlight negative aspects of Black culture (negative messages). As displayed in the proposed model (see Figure 1), these individual differences in racial socialization are shaped by child, parental, and contextual factors. The child is not a passive individual in this process; child characteristics and behaviors may elicit certain practices from parents. Child age and gender are posited to be developmental contexts that shape parental beliefs regarding what messages youth are capable of understanding and what experiences they are likely to have (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Peters & Massey, 1983). Child experiences may cause racial socialization to be reactive or proactive; children or parents may begin conversations about race as children age, explore their racial identity, and encounter discrimination. Parents also have experiences and attitudes that may serve as proximal influences on their racial socialization practices (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006). Factors such as parental gender, racial attitudes, parents' own received racial socialization experiences, socioeconomic status, and discrimination experiences are hypothesized to significantly shape parents' ideas regarding what messages and behaviors are necessary for their children to navigate their social settings. Such experiences and beliefs may prompt parents to act proactively and bring race discussions to the

forefront. Furthermore, characteristics of the contexts or settings in which families live and operate influence parents' racial socialization practices (Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). Characteristics of schools and neighborhoods along with geographic location and current events account for additional sources of variation in racial socialization practices.

The current investigation has two primary aims. First, I will propose a model of racial socialization. Figure 1 shows the conceptual model that guides this research and the model will be described in detail. Second, parts of the model will be tested in a sample of African American families. In an attempt to better understand my measures of racial socialization, I examine the congruency of parent and child reports of racial socialization and parent-child relationship quality as a possible moderator of this congruency. To test the model, I will first examine child and parental antecedents of the frequency of parental racial socialization using variable-centered and person-centered approaches. Using a variable-centered approach, I will examine predictors of three types of racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages) separately. I will examine whether the content and frequency of the different types of racial socialization practices vary as a function of child gender and age as children progress from fifth to twelfth grade. Parental characteristics—in particular, parents' own received racial socialization experiences and parents' racial attitudes—will be examined in terms of their relation to parents' current racial socialization practices.

A person-centered analytical strategy will then be used to examine how the different types of racial socialization practices are transmitted in combination. An identification of patterns, or profiles, of racial socialization may provide a more descriptive view of the nature of parental racial messages because specific types of racial socialization messages are not usually transmitted in isolation. The following three profiles are expected: 1) A group where parents

transmit both cultural socialization and preparation for bias in high frequency and negative messages infrequently, 2) a group where parents do not transmit any messages at high frequency, and 3) a group where negative racial messages are transmitted more frequently than the other types of messages. Once profiles have been identified, they will then be examined to see if they differ in child characteristics (gender) and parent characteristics (income, education, racial attitudes, and received racial socialization experiences).

In the following sections, I first review extant literature that attempts to describe the content of parents' racial socialization practices. Next, I discuss the use of parent and child reports of racial socialization and child-parent relationship quality as a possible moderator of the congruency of these reports. I then describe the use of variable-centered and person-centered approaches to examining racial socialization. Lastly, I discuss the conceptual model pertaining to child, parental, and contextual predictors of parental engagement in race-related practices.

### **Types of Racial Socialization Practices**

Research on racial socialization has surged over the last two decades. In an effort to move towards a more multidimensional view of racial socialization, researchers have classified parental racial socialization practices to specifically account for the content (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; 1999). Two categories of racial socialization practices that have been examined more than others are cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Cultural socialization, also termed racial pride, refers to those practices that promote pride in one's race, culture, or ethnicity. These messages teach ethnic and racial history, heritage, and traditions (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Preparation for bias practices raise awareness of racial discrimination and help youth develop effective coping skills when they encounter racism (Hughes & Chen, 1999). A third type of racial socialization, which will also be

examined in the current study but is less commonly studied, are negative messages which contain critical content regarding Black individuals, culture, and history (Mandara & Murray, 2002).

Messages regarding cultural socialization are transmitted across childhood and adolescence and are a significant part of child rearing practices (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Examples of these practices include celebrating cultural holidays, exposing children to cultural stories and artifacts, and discussing cultural figures (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Studies have shown that 80% or more of African American parents report engaging in cultural socialization practices (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

In comparison to cultural socialization, preparation for bias is not as frequent in African American families (McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000). However, preparation for bias socialization does appear to be more common in African American families compared to other ethnic groups (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Scholars hypothesize that these practices, which stress awareness of discrimination and may include pointing out racial inequalities, may not be frequently transmitted for numerous reasons. It may be that other types of racial socialization practices are more salient than preparation for bias and, therefore, are reported more frequently. It may also be the case that the content of these messages may cause discomfort or displeasure, and therefore, parents refrain from engaging in these practices often (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). To date, little is known about negative messages, but reports show that these messages tend to be transmitted in lower frequency compared to messages with other themes (Neblett et al., 2006; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). Mandara and Murray

(2002) also found that adolescents who perceived receiving negative messages were more likely to have less positive feelings about being Black.

Increasingly, researchers have posited the importance of racial socialization practices in contributing to the adaptive development of African American youth. As illustrated in the proposed model, racial socialization is a predictor of numerous youth outcomes, including self esteem, racial identity, and ability to cope with prejudice and racism (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). As a result, child, caregiver, and situational antecedents of racial socialization have become of increased interest to researchers in the field; researchers are interested in understanding what influences the content and frequency of these important parental practices. Before discussing the correlates or antecedents of racial socialization, I will consider methodological issues.

### **Use of Parent and Child Reports of Racial Socialization**

The parental racial socialization process is conceptualized as a bidirectional one involving both the parent and the child. To examine the content and frequency of these practices, reports can be obtained from various sources. Researchers have used methods that question *parents* regarding the messages they believe they impart to their children (e.g., Parent Experience of Racial Socialization (PERS), Stevenson, 1995), that ask *children* to report on messages they believe they receive from their parents (e.g., Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization (TERS), Stevenson et al., 2002), and ratings of *independent observers* to examine the transmission of race beliefs from parent to child (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002). The most commonly accepted definitions of racial socialization refer only to the transmission of messages to children (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). However, the messages transmitted by parents are not necessarily the same as the ones that children perceive

and/or remember, and antecedents of racial socialization may differentially predict parent and child reports.

As Marshall (1995) notes, the messages parents intend to transmit to children may not reach their children; messages can be overlooked, ignored, misunderstood, or challenged. Furthermore, parents may not always be aware of what they are transmitting because many messages are implicit and/or unintentional (Hughes, Bachman, et al., 2006). Sometimes African American parents purposely engage in practices and have conversations with their children, whereas other messages are inadvertent. For example, inadvertent racial messages may be transmitted as a child overhears a parent's conversation, or when the child notices that the parent behaves differently with Whites than with Blacks.

Hughes, Bachman et al. (2006) found in a multi-racial sample that second- and fourth-grade children perceived more preparation for bias messages and fewer cultural socialization and egalitarianism messages than their parents reported sending. Marshall (1995) also found results displaying discrepancies in parent and child reports. In a comparison of African American mothers and their 9- and 10-year old children, over 80% of parents reported that they engaged in socialization while less than 60% of children reported receiving racial socialization messages. Consistent with these discrepancies, Hughes and Chen (1997) found small correlations between adolescent and mother reported cultural socialization ( $r = 0.22$ ) and preparation for bias ( $r = 0.19$ ). In an examination of a multi-racial sample of African American, Latino, and Chinese families, mother and adolescent reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias were correlated at 0.16 and 0.25, respectively (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Thomas and King (2007) also examined similarity in reports of racial socialization messages between daughters ranging in age from 13-21 and their mothers. Mothers' and daughters' reports of

cultural legacy messages were moderately correlated at 0.50. These mismatches in reports across parents and their children illustrate that researchers may not be capturing the entire story by relying on one person's perspective of this process. The current study will incorporate reports of both parents and youth, understanding that each informant contributes unique information.

The current study also expands on prior research by examining a moderator of the relationship between parent and child reports of racial socialization. While researchers have examined factors that influence the frequency of racial socialization, most have not examined factors that may influence the congruency of parent and child reports of racial socialization (see Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009 for an exception). Perhaps parent and child congruence is more likely to appear under certain conditions. Parents' racial messages do not occur in isolation, and, instead, occur within the context of other parenting practices and family relationships. In this vein, it seems likely that parents and children who communicate more often and get along well with one another may have more similar views of what interactions they have had. Research on sexual attitudes and behavior shows that parent-child dyads with higher quality relationships and increased communication and openness about sex had greater congruence of reports of sexual attitudes and behaviors (Fisher, 1988; Taris, 2000). Parent-child relationship quality may also be important regarding racial socialization; parents and children who have closer relationships may have more congruent reports of racial socialization.

Understanding that racial socialization takes place within the family context, researchers have examined aspects of parenting as a predictor of racial socialization. Frabutt, Walker, and MacKinnon-Lewis (2002) found a significant relationship between racial socialization and family processes. In their study of two-parent African American families with an early adolescent child, the authors noted that mothers who engaged in moderate amounts of proactive

response to discrimination socialization were more likely to be higher in parental involvement, positive communication, and child monitoring compared to mothers who engaged in high or low amounts of racial socialization. Cooper and McLoyd (2011) discovered that adolescent-mother relationship quality moderated the relationship between adolescent psychological outcomes and racial barrier messages for daughters but not sons. In particular, increased racial barrier socialization was related to more negative psychological outcomes in the context of positive mother-daughter relationship quality. When girls reported less positive relationships with their mothers, increased racial barrier messages were related to lower reports of depression and higher self-esteem. Mother-adolescent relationship quality was not a moderator of the relation between racial barrier message frequency and psychosocial outcomes for boys. Although prior work demonstrates the importance of parenting practices regarding the frequency of racial socialization and the impact on youth functioning, the current study makes a contribution by examining the quality of the child-parent relationship as a possible moderator of the congruence between parent and child reports of racial socialization. Child and parent reports of racial socialization are hypothesized to be more similar in families with high-quality parent-child relationships.

### **Variable-Centered and Person-Centered Analytical Strategies and Racial Socialization**

Racial socialization is operationalized as a process that includes teachings of different topics related to race (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Stevenson, 1997). These various topics have been commonly examined separately. However, parents transmit a combination of multiple types of messages. A parent may stress the importance of knowing Black history and, simultaneously, impart messages regarding the equality of all races. There is a need to examine racial socialization with a methodology that can account for the fact that parents may transmit several



messages concurrently; studying subtypes of racial socialization in isolation fails to capture the true process of how racial socialization actually occurs. When parents transmit multiple types of messages, a child is left to interpret all of this different, and perhaps conflicting, information. A person oriented approach allows for the examination of the simultaneous transmission of multiple messages, which, scholars argue, is a true reflection of how racial messages are transmitted (Neblett et al, 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010).

Person-centered analytical approaches, such as cluster and profile analyses, can identify combinations of types of racial socialization practices (Bauer & Curran, 2004; Coards & Sellers, 2005). Currently, only a handful of studies have operationalized racial socialization practices using person-centered techniques. Cluster analysis was used by Stevenson (1998) to group African American adolescents' beliefs about the types of messages they believed should be transmitted. The author identified a protective, a proactive, and an adaptive cluster. While noteworthy in being one of the first to use this technique in this field, this study examined adolescent beliefs about what should be transmitted instead of actually received racial socialization. Building upon this limitation, Neblett et al. (2008) investigated the frequency of African American adolescent-reported racial socialization. In examining six types of messages and behaviors, the authors identified four profiles of racial socialization: 1) a high positive profile, 2) a moderate positive profile, 3) a low frequency profile, and 4) a moderate negative profile.

White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010) identified three similar clusters in their analysis of African American mother-reported racial socialization. The multifaceted profile included mothers who scored high on the majority of the examined subscales, mirroring the high positive and profiles identified by Neblett and colleagues (2008). These profiles are consistent with

parents engaging in the practices Boykin and Toms (1985) describe as being essential for rearing African American children in a racist society: messages that portray African Americans in a positive light while simultaneously noting race-related obstacles. The second cluster identified by White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) was a low-race salience profile, similar to the low-race frequency profile identified by Neblett et al. (2008). In both of these profiles, parents did not emphasize race, and instead, focused on messages consistent with the mainstream orientation described by Boykin and Toms (1985). These parents tended to focus on the worth of the child as a person. The last profile identified by White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010), labeled unengaged, is similar to the moderate negative profile described by Neblett et al. (2008). Parents classified in these groups communicated moderate amounts of negative messages. This finding is consistent with the idea that some African Americans may internalize negative racial stereotypes about their group and transmit them to their children (Neblett et al., 2008; Thornton et al., 1990). Unfortunately, very few studies examine negative messages, leaving us with unanswered questions regarding when these messages may be more likely to be transmitted.

The current study seeks to build upon previous work employing a person-centered approach (latent profile analysis; LPA) to examine three subtypes of racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages) as reported by parents and their children. The following three profiles, consistent with prior research and theory, are expected: 1) A group where parents transmit both cultural socialization and preparation for bias in high frequency and negative messages infrequently, 2) a group where parents do not transmit any messages at high frequency, and 3) a group where negative racial messages are transmitted more frequently than the other types of messages. Furthermore, once profiles have been identified, I will examine characteristics of the individuals in these profiles. Specifically, I will examine

whether child gender, parent SES, parental racial attitudes, and parents' own racial socialization predict likelihood to be in a particular profile. In the next three sections I discuss the conceptual model (Figure 1) in detail. Specifically, I describe child, parent, and contextual predictors of racial socialization.

### **Child Characteristics as Predictors of Racial Socialization**

Developmental theorists recognize that children play an active role in their own development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Maccoby, 1992). Characteristics or behaviors of children elicit responses from the individuals in their lives, including parents. Child gender and age are factors that influence parental views about what messages children are capable of comprehending and what experiences they may encounter. In this project, I will examine parental racial socialization practices at four different time points: Grade 5, Grade 7, Grade 10, and Grade 12. This longitudinal assessment covers both the transition to middle school and to high school, along with the entrance to adolescence. Both maturational changes and changes in context bring new and different experiences, and parents may respond with developmentally-appropriate racial socialization practices. Additionally, parental perceptions of gendered experiences may influence parental engagement in racial socialization. As illustrated in the proposed model, child gender, age, racial identity, and discrimination experiences are child characteristics that influence the frequency of racial socialization. These relationships are described in more detail in the following sections.

**Gender.** Researchers have argued that African American boys are more likely than African American girls to be viewed as threatening, and therefore, African American boys are more likely to experience discrimination (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; Stevenson, et al., 2002). Because of gender differences in the quantity and quality

of experiencing racial discrimination, parents may engage in more conversations about discrimination with sons than with daughters. It could be equally argued, however, that boys may be especially attuned to these types of messages because of awareness of the prevalence of discrimination. Either way, it would seem logical to hypothesize that African American parents would provide their sons with more messages about discrimination than their daughters. Whereas African American parents might be especially concerned about preparing their sons for racism, daughters may be more likely to receive messages related to cultural pride. Because girls are viewed as influential in the transmission of culture within the family, it has been argued that girls should receive more messages consistent with this role (Hill, 2001; West, 1995). Child gender is therefore hypothesized to influence racial socialization.

One of the first studies of parental racial socialization found that parents reported socializing sons differently than daughters (Bowman & Howard, 1985). Using open-ended questions, this study of African Americans between the ages of 14 and 24 demonstrated that boys reported receiving more preparation for bias messages than girls. The authors also found that girls were more likely than boys to report that parents emphasized cultural socialization. Using retrospective reports with an adolescent and young adult sample, Thomas and Speight's (1999) analysis of 104 parental descriptions of socialization practices yielded similar findings: Themes related to achievement and racial pride were emphasized more with daughters than with sons.

Using profiles created on the basis of adolescent-reported racial socialization, Neblett et al. (2009) also found gender differences. In their examination of youth ranging from Grade 7 to 11, the authors discovered that boys were more likely to be in the category characterized by low scores on the majority of the racial socialization domains (low frequency) whereas girls were more likely to be in clusters characterized by higher frequency on most of the racial socialization

domains with the exception of negative messages. This finding is in line with Sanders Thompson (1994) who found that girls perceive more racial socialization messages than boys. Other researchers, however, have not found gender differences in parental racial socialization (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The lack of gender differences has been found in child-reported cultural socialization and preparation for bias in White and African American adolescents (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Neblett, et al., 2008) and in reports of African American parents with children ages 4 to 14 (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

**Age.** Researchers have also noted that racial socialization is not a static process, and they expect that parents change their practices based upon the child's developmental period. Children are aware of race and can categorize individuals into racial groups as early as age 3, but it is not until about 9 or 10 years of age that minority children understand that race is unchanging and consistent across contexts and situations (Aboud, 1988; Bernal, Knight, Garza, O'Campo, & Cota, 1990). Along with this understanding comes increased awareness and endorsement of stereotypes about group differences, including those related to academic ability (Rowley, Kurtz-Costes, Mistry, & Feagans, 2007; Seidman, Allen, Aber, Mitchell, & Feinman, 1994). Therefore, minority youth must also deal with increasing awareness of negative views of their racial group during this time. With age, children's cognitive abilities change, they gain a more in-depth understanding of race and race relations, and begin to explore who they are (Aboud, 1988; Phinney, 1989). As children are changing in the aforementioned ways, parents shift their practices to correspond with their child's abilities and experiences (Hughes & Chen, 1997). As described in the proposed model, racial socialization is just one aspect of parenting that may change as children age.

The current study examines racial socialization over the transitions to middle school and high school. Elementary schools differ in important ways from middle- and high schools, both in terms of structure and in terms of the expectations of teachers and other school personnel. For example, in addition to being larger and exposing children to more teachers and potentially a more racially-diverse population, middle and high schools use more academic tracking than elementary schools (Wigfield et al, 2006). Secondary school classrooms are also more competitive and are more likely to have public evaluation of work than elementary schools (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). These conditions may contribute to negative outcomes in students. In fact, the middle school transition is associated with declines in multiple education-related areas, including perceived competence, academic motivation, and achievement (Burchinal, Roberts, Zeisel, & Rowley, 2008; Seidman, et al., 1994; Wigfield et al., 2006). Parents may adapt their socialization strategies to fit the developmental level of their children and specific contextual factors (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Additionally, children's race-related experiences in settings such as school may lead them to seek information from their parents (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Fatimilehin (1999) argues that it is equally plausible that parents do not make great changes in their practices, but instead that messages become more salient to youth with age. Perhaps children, as they get older, are more likely to notice and to understand the practices used by their parents. For instance, home decorations/artwork linked to the family's cultural/racial heritage might be noticed by adolescents, but not by younger children. More research is needed to fully understand consistency and age-related change in racial socialization practices.

Most of what is known about developmental change in the racial socialization children receive comes from comparisons across studies or from cross-sectional studies; only limited longitudinal research documents changes parents make as their children age. Comparisons across

studies show that parents of younger children engage in less frequent socialization as compared to parents of older children. Research has shown infrequent racial socialization of preschoolers (Peters & Massey, 1983; Spencer, 1983) and more frequent socialization of adolescents (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999). These comparisons may be hard to interpret as most studies with young children, such as Spencer (1983), do not directly measure the frequency of racial socialization, but instead, how important parents believed it was to transmit certain messages. Nevertheless, age differences are particularly evident in messages regarding discrimination or mistrusting other races (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006). Preparation for discrimination practices are very infrequent with young children; parents might believe that younger children are incapable of comprehending such complex matters (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Messages related to cultural pride appear to be transmitted in greater frequency across ages. Caughy et al. (2002) found that 89% of parents of 3-4 year old children reported engaging in cultural socialization often.

Using latent-class analysis, Neblett et al. (2009) formed groups based on adolescent reported racial socialization practices and found a relationship between membership in these clusters and the developmental period of the child. Children in middle school were more likely to be in the moderate positive group, while youth in high school were more likely to be in the high positive profile. This finding is in line with prior research, as the difference between these two clusters was the frequency of the transmission of racial socialization messages. White-Johnson and colleagues (2010), however, did not find any age differences in their profile analysis of racial socialization practices. The authors argue that their lack of significant findings may be due to their use of parent reports compared to child reports typically used.

**Racial Identity.** Racial identity has been found to be related to psychological well-being in African American adolescents (Seaton, Scottham, & Sellers, 2006). However, a positive sense of racial identity may be difficult to develop for African Americans who live in a society that often discriminates against them. In the proposed model, child racial identity is posited to be a correlate of experienced racial socialization because parent awareness that a child is exploring his or her identity may change their practices to be compatible. It is also plausible that children who are exploring their identity may initiate more race-related conversations and in other ways evoke more racial socialization.

As children enter adolescence and begin exploring their racial identity, they may elicit more racial socialization messages and practices from their parents (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Child reported ethnic centrality, an indicator of how core ethnicity is to a child's self-concept, and public regard (perceptions of others' affect toward one's ethnic group) were found to be positively correlated with reports of received preparation for bias (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). Additionally, cultural socialization was correlated with centrality, public regard, and private regard. Hughes and Johnson (2001) also noted that parents tended to transmit more messages when children were exploring their identity, as measured by an adapted version of the identity exploration subscale of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure.

**Discrimination Experiences.** African American children's and adolescents' experiences of racial discrimination are well-documented in the literature (Fisher et al., 2000; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). As illustrated in the proposed model, such experiences may prompt race and discrimination discussions with parents (Neblett et al., 2006), initiated either by children or parents. Hughes and Johnson (2001) discovered that parents reported transmitting more preparation for bias messages to their early adolescent children when they believed their children



had experienced discrimination by adults. Miller and MacIntosh (1999) and Stevenson et al. (2005) also found similar relationships.

In sum, child factors influence the frequency and content of racial socialization messages. Child age, gender, racial identity, and discrimination experiences are all child characteristics that are likely to be associated with differences in the ways in which African American parents engage in racial socialization. The proposed model highlights the aforementioned predictors, and the current study attempts to address gaps in the literature regarding their significance. In the next section, parental characteristics as antecedents of racial socialization are reviewed.

### **Parental Characteristics as Predictors of Racial Socialization**

Parents' childrearing practices are influenced by their goals, attitudes, and experiences within the contexts in which they operate. Parents have goals regarding what they would like their children to know about race, and parents' attitudes and experiences shape their beliefs about what race-related experiences their children are likely to have outside the home. These goals, attitudes, and experiences shape parental beliefs about what socialization methods may be necessary for their children to navigate their current and future social contexts (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997). In the proposed model parental racial attitudes, parents' own received racial socialization experiences, socioeconomic status, gender, age, and discrimination experiences are put forth as significant parent characteristics that predict their racial socialization of their children. These factors are described in more detail next.

**Racial Identity and Attitudes.** The racial identity and attitudes of parents are a likely source of variation in racial socialization practices. Parents for whom race is more important and salient may have stronger feelings regarding the type of racial knowledge they want to impart. For example, parents who believe that their racial group is viewed unfavorably by others may be

more likely to have discussion related to discrimination with their children. In the current model, parental racial identity is, therefore, proposed to be an important predictor of parental racial socialization.

Various conceptualizations of racial identity and attitudes exist. One of the most widely cited conceptualizations comes from Sellers and colleagues (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). In this model, racial identity is understood to be composed of the significance of race to a person's self-definition (centrality and salience) and the meaning a person assigns to being a member of a racial group (public and private regard, and philosophy). Additionally, parents have other race-related beliefs and attitudes on a variety of topics such as the prevalence of discrimination and racial group disadvantage (Hughes, 2003).

Few studies have examined the link between parental racial identity attitudes and racial socialization in African American families. Thomas and Speight (1999) found that parents who felt more attached to their racial group were more likely to emphasize cultural socialization to their children. Hughes (2003), however, found no relationships between parental racial identity attitudes (how strongly a person identified with his or her race and perceived group disadvantage) and cultural socialization among African American children, but strong relationships for members of other races.

In the current study I examine three types of racial attitudes: perceptions of race climate, support ties, and importance of race teachings. Parents who perceive the climate to be racially hostile may want to protect their children from surrounding negativity. Therefore, they may make their child aware of the existence of discrimination and provide them with coping strategies. I hypothesize that parents with stronger beliefs that they live in a racially hostile environment will transmit more preparation for bias messages than other parents. Additionally,

parents who believe in the importance of race teachings would be expected to teach their own children about race. In the current study, parents with stronger beliefs about the importance of race teachings are expected to transmit both more preparation for bias and more cultural socialization than other parents. No specific hypotheses were made regarding the support of interracial ties.

**Racial Socialization Experiences.** Based on classic developmental theory, it would be expected that because of the racial socialization they received themselves, parents internalized their own parents' attitudes, which, in turn, result in similar racial socialization practices in the next generation. It is also possible that parents may be more comfortable engaging in practices or conversations about race and racial issues if they have witnessed a working model for these activities from their parents. Thus, in the proposed model I posit parent received racial socialization experiences as a significant contributor to parental decisions to engage in racial socialization.

To date, only two published studies have explored the relation between parents' own race socialization experiences and their racial socialization of their own children. In their structured interviews of African American parents with children 4 to 14 years old, Hughes and Chen (1997) found that parents who reported receiving messages about racial bias as children were more likely than other parents to transmit messages regarding preparation for discrimination and promoting out-group mistrust to their children. Additionally, parents who reported receiving more cultural socialization messages as children reported using more cultural socialization with their own children. White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) also found that parents who received more socialization as children were more likely to currently engage in racial socialization. In their profile analysis of racial socialization in African American mothers of adolescents ranging

in age from 11 to 17, White-Johnson and colleagues found that mothers who frequently transmitted numerous types of racial socialization, categorized as multifaceted, were more likely to report receiving frequent racial socialization as children compared to mothers who were categorized as unengaged and had low scores on all racial socialization types except negative messages. In this study, parent received racial socialization was assessed using reports of socialization from parents, peers, and other adults. The authors measured parent received racial socialization experiences with a global measure that did not distinguish among sub-types such as cultural socialization and preparation for discrimination.

**Parent Education and Income.** African Americans exhibit a range of educational, occupational, and income levels, and these factors are posited in the current model to influence parental engagement in racial socialization. Parents from different socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds have different ideas and experiences about race. For instance, compared to their lower-income and lesser-educated counterparts, higher-educated Blacks perceive more prejudice (Williams, 1999). These differences in beliefs, perceptions, and experiences may result in different racial socialization practices; parents may use this information to determine what should be said to their children regarding race. Furthermore, some forms of racial socialization activities, such as participation in African American social clubs, often require financial costs that may limit the participation of lower income parents (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Financial limitations may impose restrictions on participation in some racial socialization practices while wealth may provide greater access to social capital and other resources.

Socioeconomic differences in parental racial socialization practices appear to be a consistent finding in the literature (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). Most studies that have failed to find significant income and education differences have methodological

shortcomings that may have limited their ability to do so. For example, Frabutt, Walker, and MacKinnon-Lewis' (2002) examination of racial socialization in African American two-parent households yielded nonsignificant SES differences, but they had a small sample of 66 families. Other studies, such as Phinney and Chavira (1995), had limited variability in SES, decreasing the statistical power needed to detect significant differences. Nevertheless, several studies have found more racial socialization in parents who are higher in SES, compared to lower SES parents. McHale et al. (2006) explored parental reported racial socialization of children in middle and late childhood. The authors found that, in comparison to lower-income and less-educated parents, parents with higher income and more education reported engaging in more frequent preparation for bias and cultural socialization. Hughes and Chen (1997) coded parental occupations and discovered that compared to parents who held clerical, sales, machine-trades, or bench-work occupations, parents in managerial and professional jobs were more likely to engage in preparation for bias and cultural socialization.

In an attempt to learn more about the complex role SES may play in influencing racial socialization, researchers have begun examining this association with more sophisticated techniques. Using a person-centered methodological approach, Neblett et al. (2008) examined parent educational differences in profiles of adolescent-reported racial socialization. The authors only noted marginally significant differences related to parent education. Adolescents belonging to the high positive profile, who received larger amounts of all types of socialization except negative messages, had parents who had marginally more education than individuals who received more negative socialization (labeled moderate negative). A similar finding was reported by Neblett, et al. (2009). Utilizing a similar approach to examine racial socialization in African American mothers, White-Johnson et al. (2010) did not find any significant income differences

in their identified clusters, but they did find an effect of education. Consistent with Neblett et al. (2009), parents engaging in frequent transmission of multiple types of socialization (classified as multifaceted) had more years of education than mothers who transmitted few racial messages (classified as low race salient). Perhaps more educated parents have had more experiences that have forced them to think of race in different, and perhaps more meaningful, ways.

**Parental Gender.** Recently, researchers have begun to explore the possible influence of parents' gender on their racial socialization practices. Due to differences in experiences of parents by gender, one could easily see why differences might exist. Mothers are more often the primary caregivers of children, and women and men are likely to have different life experiences because of their gender. The relationship between parental gender and racial socialization is included in the proposed model and existing literature is briefly summarized below.

In their examination of socio-demographic factors that lead parents to engage in racial socialization practices, Thornton et al. (1990) found that mothers were more likely to transmit racial socialization messages than fathers. Theoretically, this makes sense because mothers are more likely to be the primary caregivers. Furthermore, the statistics regarding ethnic minority males being more likely to experience more discrimination than their female counterparts is true for both youth and adults (Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008). Therefore, fathers may be more likely than mothers to talk with their children about discrimination. Additionally, because of either their personal experiences or their increased awareness of the existence of discrimination, fathers may specifically focus on transmitting racial bias messages to their sons, whom they believe may be likely to have discrimination experiences. McHale et al. (2006) found support for this parental gender by child gender interaction. Fathers were more likely to engage in racial socialization with their sons as compared to their daughters. This finding

supports research on parents' gender roles that suggests that parents, especially fathers, may be more likely to be involved in the socializing of same-gender offspring (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003).

**Parental Age.** Some individuals become parents earlier in life while others wait until later in life to have children. Older parents have more life experiences than younger parents, and these additional life experiences can lead to more detailed and nuanced views regarding race and racial interactions (Hughes et al, 2006). Changes over time regarding societal views of race relations may provide parents of different ages with different experiences. For example, although a 5- or even 10-year age difference may not be linked to different experiences, a parenting grandmother who remembers segregated restaurants, drinking fountains, and buses may have different things to say about race than her daughter. Additionally, older parents are more likely than younger parents to plan to become parents, suggesting that they may have also spent more time contemplating how they plan to raise their children. The proposed model posits that these age differences lead to variations in the frequency and content of racial socialization.

To date, only limited research has examined the role of parental age. Thornton et al. (1990) noted that older parents, compared to younger parents, were more likely to report transmitting racial socialization messages. Specifically, older mothers were particularly more likely to engage in racial socialization if they had more education. These findings may suggest that the parental age and racial socialization link is important. Alternatively, age may be a proxy for other variables. For example, older parents may have more education or may have experienced more discrimination, and it may be these experiences that lead parents to engage in more socialization. More research is needed to completely understand these processes.

**Discrimination Experiences.** Discrimination, although not as overt as it once was, still exists and is experienced by both adults and children. Based upon their own experiences and attitudes, African American parents can anticipate that their children will experience discrimination. For example, parents who experience discrimination in the workplace may be more likely to believe that their child will also experience discrimination, and as a result, believe it is important to prepare their children for those encounters. The link between parental discrimination experiences and racial socialization is hypothesized to be an important one; relevant literature is reviewed below.

Hughes and Chen (1997) reported that parents' discrimination experiences at work were related to their racial socialization practices with older children (9-12 years of age). In particular, parents provided more preparation for bias when they perceived prejudice at work. When parents perceived more institutional-level discrimination, they engaged in more promotion of mistrust. Messages that warn children about discrimination and that promote wariness of interracial interactions may be transmitted to increase awareness of negative racial events. Stevenson, et al. (2002) found that adolescents reported receiving more cultural socialization when they also reported that a family member had experienced discrimination. Perhaps cultural socialization messages are transmitted after discrimination experiences to help negate negative racial interactions and to reinforce the positive aspects of Black culture.

In sum, numerous parental characteristics may lead to variations in the content and frequency of their racial socialization practices. In the next section, contextual and historical predictors of racial socialization are discussed.

### **Contextual and Historical Predictors of Racial Socialization**



According to developmental theorists, attempting to understand development without acknowledging the broader context in which the child develops disregards essential and important information (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Children and their families do not live in isolation, and numerous factors can influence their experiences. As displayed in the proposed model, contextual factors such as neighborhood and school characteristics, region of the country, and historical time are proximal influences on parents' racial socialization practices in that they are the settings in which parents develop ideas regarding what is necessary for optimal child development. The current study will not examine contextual predictors of racial socialization but, in recognizing their importance, they are included in the proposed model of racial socialization.

**Contextual Predictors of Racial Socialization.** The location of a person's home, occupation, and school (e.g., in the Northern region of the United States; in a predominantly White neighborhood) creates proximal contexts in which individuals live. Regions of the United States have dissimilar racial histories, presence of various racial groups, economic factors, and patterns of intergroup and intragroup relations. As displayed in the proposed model, such characteristics about these settings may contribute to variation in the ways African American parents teach their children about race. For example, messages about egalitarianism may be more common in areas of racial diversity, while preparation for bias messages may be more frequent in areas where recurrent negative intergroup relations occur.

To date, only the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) has provided a sample from which conclusions about geographical differences in racial socialization can be drawn. Thornton et al.'s (1990) examination of over 2,000 parents noted no differences in practiced racial socialization among women from different regions. Men in the Northeast were more likely to report racial socialization than men in the South. An analysis of the full sample of men and

women combined showed that respondents in the South were more likely than those in the West to report receiving racial socialization about being a minority. The history of slavery in the South along with differences in race relations between the two regions may be an important key to understanding this difference in racial socialization.

As previously mentioned, neighborhoods also differ in important characteristics that may influence engagement in racial socialization. Racial composition of neighborhoods is one factor that has been highlighted in the existing literature. Studies have found increased preparation for bias messages in integrated and diverse neighborhoods (e.g., Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005; Thornton et al., 1990) compared to predominantly White (Caughy et al., 2005) or predominantly Black (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002) neighborhoods. It may be argued, however, that racial integration may be a proxy for other neighborhood characteristics (Hughes, et al., 2006). For example, one might expect parents to differentially racially socialize on the basis of hostility and closeness of racial groups. Stevenson (2004) found reports of more preparation for discrimination among African American girls who lived in neighborhoods with low neighborhood support and high danger. Additionally, Caughy et al. (2005) found that parents were more likely to report promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias when they lived in neighborhoods with negative social climates.

**Historical Time Period.** The messages parents transmit to their children reflect their understanding of what it means to be African American in the current society. It seems logical, therefore, that parents may provide messages differing in content or frequency based on the current social climate or historical period. For example, during historical times of racial segregation, parents may have been more likely to transmit messages about mistrusting Whites.

Historical time period, although not examined in the current study, is hypothesized to be an important predictor of racial socialization and is included in the proposed model.

Sanders-Thompson (1994) examined adults' retrospective reports of childhood racial socialization. Adults over the age of thirty-six (therefore, born before 1955) recalled receiving less racial pride socialization than adults under the age of thirty-six. The author proposed that this finding captured an underlying effect of time period or generation, suggesting that parental racial socialization practices are influenced by social, economic, and political conditions. The two age groups examined by Sanders-Thompson present youth born before and after the beginning of the civil rights movement, a time of great increase in displayed race pride for African Americans. African American parents raising children during this time may have shaped their messages to reflect these changing attitudes. Brown and Lesane-Brown (2006) tested this hypothesis by examining the relationship between historical context and racial socialization. Among their interesting findings, the authors discovered that individuals who came of age during the pre Brown v. Board of Education era were more likely to report receiving messages related to fear of and deference to Whites. This result supports the hypothesis that the racial climate of a particular point in history is important and may shape racial socialization practices.

### **The Current Study**

Prior sections described the conceptual model in detail. The goal of the present study is to test specific parts of the model related to child and parent predictors of racial socialization. Specifically, child age and gender, and parents' received racial socialization experiences, racial attitudes, and socioeconomic status will be empirically tested as predictors of racial socialization practices. The predictors selected for the current study are described in more detail next.

**Child Gender.** To date, researchers have not been able to identify systematic reasons for the mixed findings regarding the relationship between gender and racial socialization (Hughes, Rodriquez, et al., 2006). As researchers continue to explore the possibility of gender differences, it may be important to account for the role of numerous factors such as measurement, reporter differences, and context. Perhaps there are certain conditions (i.e. certain ages, certain neighborhood contexts, etc.) under which gender differences exist. In the present study I examine the possibility of gender differences longitudinally, arguing that gender differences are more likely to occur when children are older. As children enter late adolescence, the experiences of boys and girls are more likely to diverge, and it may be these differences that encourage different amounts and types of dialogue about race between parents and children. With age, boys are more likely to experience discrimination (Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008) and have more potential conflicts with police officers and authority figures (Sanders Thompson, 1994). Therefore, I hypothesize that adolescent boys will receive more preparation for bias messages than adolescent girls. In contrast, adolescent girls are expected to receive more messages than boys that focus on strengthening pride in the African American culture. This hypothesis will be tested with both variable-centered and person-centered analytical strategies to understand gender differences in subtypes of racial socialization practices and in the combination of types of racial socialization.

**Child Age.** The current study examines age-related changes in racial socialization from 5<sup>th</sup> grade to 12<sup>th</sup> grade. White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) argue that mixed findings regarding age differences in racial socialization practices may exist due to the reliance of varying reporters of race-related practices. The current study provides a direct test of this argument by examining possible age differences in parent- and child-reported racial socialization.

Furthermore, the use of a longitudinal sample allows for an examination of whether the frequency of parental racial socialization actually changes over time. I expect a linear increase in both preparation for bias and cultural socialization. In addition, the interaction between child age and gender will be explored. I hypothesize that boys will receive more preparation for bias than girls, who will report more race pride socialization, and that this gender difference will only exist when youth are older.

**Parent Racial Identity and Attitudes.** The current study will expand upon previous research by exploring different racial identity attitudes (perceptions of racial climate, support for interracial ties, and race discussion/teaching) to better understand what parental beliefs may influence their decisions to engage in racial socialization. Parents who perceive the racial climate as hostile may feel the need to protect their children from this negativity by preparing them for possible negative experiences. I hypothesize that parents who perceive the climate to be more racially hostile will transmit more preparation for bias messages. Additionally, parents who believe in the importance of teaching children about race are expected to engage more frequently in both cultural socialization and preparation for bias.

**Racial Socialization Experiences.** I hypothesize that receiving frequent amounts of certain types of messages during childhood makes parents more likely to engage in those types of racial socialization when they become parents. As previously noted, cross-generational similarity in socialization practices might result from the internalization of values and attitudes or from familiarity. Testing of this hypothesis is challenging because of the reliance on self-reports of practices that occurred decades earlier. Thus, Hughes and Chen's (1997) and White-Johnson et al.'s (2010) results may have been due to response bias. Parents who valued a specific type of racial socialization such as preparation for discrimination might have been more likely to

report receiving greater amounts of that type of socialization due to selective attention or memory regardless of their own parents' actual socialization practices. The current study examines parental reports of their childhood racial socialization experiences and current practices reported both by parents and children to provide a test of the hypothesis of consistency of practices across generations. It may be argued that child reports of current practices provide a more sensitive test of this hypothesis given that response bias will be less of an issue. I also investigate three different domains of racial socialization to explore the importance of racial socialization themes in generational transmission of racial socialization practices.

**Parent Education and Income.** In the current study, I will attempt to better understand when parent SES may or may not be associated with racial socialization by incorporating the use of a person-oriented approach. I hypothesize that consistent with theory and prior research, higher educated and higher-income parents will be more likely to engage in racial socialization compared to their lower educated and lower income counterparts.

## **Hypotheses**

The hypotheses of the current study were tested in African American adolescents and their parents. Both parent and youth data from four measurement points (when youth were in Grades 5, 7, 10, and 12) were used to increase our understanding of the antecedents of parental racial socialization practices and developmental and gender differences in the socialization children receive. I used both variable-centered and person-centered analytical techniques to answer my research questions.

Hypothesis 1: The quality of the parent-child relationship was expected to moderate the relationship between parent and child reports of racial socialization. Children who report having closer relationships with their primary parent in Grade 10 were expected to be more likely to

have reports of racial socialization similar to the reports of their parents as compared to children who report not having close relationships with their primary parent. This hypothesis was tested separately for each subtype of racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages) reported when youth were in Grade 10.

Hypothesis 2: The frequency of parental racial socialization (both regarding cultural socialization and preparation for discrimination, and both parent and child reports) was expected to increase as children get older. Children, more cognizant of their parents' racial socialization practices as they age, were expected to be more likely than parents to report increases in racial socialization from Grade 5 to Grade 12.

Hypothesis 3: The frequencies with which sub-types of racial socialization messages are transmitted were expected to differ as a function of gender. Youth and parents will report that boys receive more preparation for bias than girls, who receive more cultural socialization than boys. Furthermore, an interaction between gender and age was expected such that gender differences will appear when youth are in high school, a time where gender stereotypes differentially influence development and social experiences.

Hypothesis 4: Parents' own received racial socialization experiences were hypothesized to be related to their current racial socialization practices. Parents who report receiving more racial socialization messages in childhood would currently engage in more of those types of racial socialization practices with their children, both as reported by them and their child, than parents who report not receiving those types of racial socialization messages during childhood. This hypothesis was tested using Grade 12 student and parent reports of racial socialization.

Hypothesis 5: Parents' racial attitudes will be related to their Grade 12 racial socialization practices. Specifically, parental beliefs about the hostility of the racial climate, support for

interracial ties, and the importance of race teachings were examined. Parents with stronger beliefs that they live in a racially hostile climate were expected to transmit preparation for bias messages more frequently. Additionally, it was hypothesized that parents who believe in the importance of race teachings would be more likely to transmit both preparation for bias and cultural socialization messages. Racial attitudes were expected to be a stronger predictor of current practices than received childhood socialization.

The first five hypotheses were tested using a variable-oriented approach. In addition, latent profile analysis was used to group families according to the characteristics of racial socialization reported across the three sub-types in the sixth hypothesis. Hypotheses 7 through 10 were tested using those identified groups.

Hypothesis 6: Grade 10 parent and child reports of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages were expected to coalesce together to form three patterns of racial socialization. Parent and child reports of racial socialization were examined separately. A profile in which parents engage in frequent transmission of both cultural socialization and preparation for bias and less frequent negative messages was expected (High Positive). Also, a profile in which parents transmit all three types of racial socialization messages at low frequencies was predicted (Low Racial Frequency). The final hypothesized profile was one containing parents who frequently transmit negative messages but transmit cultural socialization and preparation bias messages infrequently (Negative).

Hypothesis 7: Child gender differences were not expected in membership of the three profiles.

Hypothesis 8: Parents in the group that transmits preparation for bias and cultural socialization at high levels and negative messages at a lower frequency were expected to have higher incomes and more education than individuals in the other two profiles.



Hypothesis 9: Differences across the profiles were expected that are consistent with parents' racial attitudes. Parents who more strongly believe in teaching children that racial awareness is important were expected to be less likely to belong to the profile where race is not commonly discussed compared to the other two profiles. Individuals in the profile where race is not frequently discussed were expected to report fewer racial inequalities than members of the other profiles.

Hypothesis 10: The profiles of racial socialization were expected to differ in parent received racial socialization experiences. Parents were expected to engage in racial socialization that was similar to what they received as children. Parents in the group that transmits frequent cultural socialization and preparation for bias and infrequent negative messages were expected to report receiving more frequent preparation for bias and cultural socialization compared to individuals in the other two profiles.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Participants in the study were youth and their parents from the Youth Identity Project (YIP), a longitudinal study that focuses on academic achievement striving in African American youth. Youth were originally recruited in three cohorts of fifth graders from seven predominantly Black (i.e., 72% or more of the student body were African American) elementary schools. Cohort 1 fifth grade data were collected in 2002-2003, Cohort 2 in 2003-2004, and Cohort 3 in 2004-2005. Additional waves of data collection occurred when youth were in Grades 7 and 10. Grade 12 data collection occurred during the 2009-2010, 2010-2011, and 2011-2012 school years. Data for the present study were drawn from the four time points (Grades 5, 7, 10, and 12).

Participants attended one of 17 urban middle schools during Wave 2 and one of 11 urban high schools during Waves 3 and 4. These schools were either part of or close in proximity to the urban school district where data collection originated. During original recruitment, 78% of African American 5<sup>th</sup> graders who were invited to participate returned signed consent forms; of those, 97% ( $N = 372$ ; 211 girls; 161 boys) agreed to participate. The average age was 11.13 years ( $SD = 0.73$ ).

In Wave 1, 270 parents also completed surveys. Most participating parents were mothers (83%); however, fathers, grandparents, other relatives, and non-relative guardians also participated. The majority of parents self-reported as African-American (97%). Approximately 1% of parents identified themselves as White and 2% as other. Parents who did not self-identify as African American were dropped from all analyses in this report. The sample was largely low income, with approximately 60% of families reporting yearly incomes less than \$30,000, 25% reporting yearly incomes between \$30,000 and \$60,000, and 15% reporting incomes greater than \$60,000 per year. Approximately 40% of parents were married, 15% were divorced, 3% were widowed, and 42% were single and had never been married. About 14% of caregivers had not completed high school, whereas 62% had earned a high school diploma, 7% had earned an associate's degree, and 17% had completed a bachelor's degree or higher.

In 7<sup>th</sup> grade, approximately 79 % of students ( $N = 293$ ; 171 girls, 122 boys) from the original sample completed the questionnaire. Approximately 15% of the students from the original sample could not be located and another 5% refused to participate. The mean age for children was 13.0 years ( $SD = 0.68$ ). At this time, 93% ( $N = 252$ ) of parents also completed questionnaires. Eighty-six percent of caregivers were mothers. Analyses indicate that non-

participating parents did not differ on education, income, or racial socialization. Additionally, attrition was not selective for youth participants on racial socialization.

When students were in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, 69% ( $N = 255$ ; 151 girls, 104 boys) of students and 78% ( $N = 210$ ) of parents from the original sample participated. The mean age for children was 15.7 years ( $SD = 1.23$ ). Among parent participants, 85% were mothers. Analyses indicated no differences on education, income, or racial socialization between participating and non-participating parents.

Fifty-four percent ( $N=201$ ; 122 girls; 79 boys) of students and 46% ( $N=123$ ) of parents from the original sample completed Grade 12 surveys. The mean age for students was 17.4 years ( $SD = 1.04$ ). Approximately 13% of responding caregivers at this time had not completed high school, 59% had received a high school diploma, 9% had earned an associate's degree, and 19% had received a bachelor's degree or higher. More than one-third (38%) of the parents reported being married, 21% were divorced, 3% were widowed, and 38% were single and had never been married. Similar to previous waves, the majority of responding caregivers were mothers (84%). Of the 123 parents who completed Grade 12 assessments, 68% ( $N=84$ ) had complete data at all four time points.

## **Procedure**

Letters requesting informed consent from parents and assent from children were distributed at school to all fifth graders in the selected schools. Once consent forms were signed and returned to the investigators, children completed questionnaires in small groups at school. Research assistants read the instructions and all items aloud and also answered questions for clarification when necessary. Upon completion of the surveys, children received a small gift as compensation.

Parents were then mailed questionnaires containing measures of demographic information and measures pertaining to their beliefs about and behaviors with the focal student. Included in the mailing with the questionnaire were stamped, return envelopes so that the questionnaires could be easily returned to the investigators. Upon receipt of the completed questionnaire, parents received a monetary incentive. Similar data collection procedures were used when students were in Grades 7 and 10.

Measures of interest for the current study were incorporated into the parent questionnaire in Wave 4. Similar to previous procedures, youth completed questionnaires in small groups and parents received surveys by mail. Parents and youth were compensated \$30 and \$10, respectively.

## **Measures**

At each measurement point, youth completed the Racial Socialization measure. In Grade 10 youth also completed a measure of parent-child relationship quality. Parents completed the Racial Socialization measure and a general information form pertaining to their race, educational attainment, yearly income, and their relationship to the target child during each wave. For the Grade 12 wave, parents also reported on their racial attitudes and their received racial socialization experiences. Each measure is described in greater detail below.

## **Youth Measures**

**Racial Socialization.** In fifth and seventh grades youth racial socialization experiences were assessed with an adapted version of two of the three subscales of the Race Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). In addition to the fourteen items from the published measure, this adapted version included three additional items that assessed behaviors that foster cultural socialization (e.g. “Talked about the accomplishments of Black individuals”). Children

responded to items asking about their parents' behavior. Youth rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = never; 5 = more than 10 times) the frequency with which their parents engaged in each behavior during the prior year. Factor analysis on our results confirmed a two-factor solution, and item scores were averaged for each subscale to create a composite score for race pride socialization and a composite score for preparation for bias. Alpha reliabilities were .84 and .86 for preparation for bias and .81 and .83 for cultural socialization, fifth and seventh grade, respectively.

In tenth and twelfth grades, racial socialization was measured with a 19-item measure adapted from the Race Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). At this time, 3 items that were no longer age-appropriate were removed (e.g. "Read Black storybooks to you") and 6 items from the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen version were added to assess behaviors that promoted anti-Black sentiment (e.g. "Told you that White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses"; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyen, & Sellers, unpublished manuscript).

Examination of the internal consistency of the 6 new items revealed an unacceptable alpha reliability. A factor analysis was conducted using maximum likelihood extraction with Varimax (orthogonal) rotation. Factor analyses were done with both child and parent data. Reports indicated small differences between the two reporters and parent results were used to construct factor scores. The analysis yielded two factors explaining 44.51% of the variance for the entire set of variables. The following three items loaded the highest on the first factor: told you [your child] that being Black is nothing to be proud of, told you [your child] that it is best to act like Whites, told you [your child] that Blacks are not as smart as people of other races. Factor 1 accounted for 25.32% of the variance. The second factor explained an additional 19.19% of the variance, and one item (told you [your child] that learning about Black history is not that

important) loaded the highest on it. The remaining two items did not load onto either of the factors. Factor 1 was used as an indicator of negative messages for the current study. Alpha reliabilities were .86 and .99 for preparation for bias, .83 and .83 for cultural socialization, and .75 and .84 for negative messages, tenth and twelfth grade respectively. A copy of the measure appears in Appendix 1.

**Parent-Child Relationship Quality.** In 10<sup>th</sup> grade, youth completed Swanson's (1950) 11-item Child-Parent Relationship Scale to indicate the quality of the relationship with the adult they considered their primary parent. On a 5-point Likert scale (*1* = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree), youth rated statements about their interactions with their primary parent (e.g., "I talk over important plans with my parent"). Students were told to select the individual they considered to be their primary parent (mother, father, grandmother, other). If a student selected "other," s/he was instructed to identify their relationship to that individual. This scale has been shown to have acceptable reliability in previous studies using racial minorities (e.g., McLoyd, Jayaratne, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994). Alpha reliability for this measure in the current study is .94. A copy of the measure appears in Appendix 2.

## **Parent Measures**

**Racial Socialization.** A measure similar to that used for youth-reported racial socialization experiences was used for parents. Parents were asked to report on their own behaviors over the last year. Alpha reliabilities were .90 for the preparation for bias subscales at the first two time points and .86 and .87 for the cultural socialization subscale in fifth and seventh grade, respectively. Alpha reliabilities for preparation for bias, race pride, and negative messages were .91, .81 and .69 for Grade 10 and .91, .84, and .92 for Grade 12.

**Parental Racial Socialization Experiences.** The racial socialization measure used in Grades 10 and 12 (adapted from Hughes & Chen, 1997 and Lesane-Brown et al., unpublished manuscript) was modified to measure parents' racial socialization experiences during their own childhoods. Parents were instructed to indicate how often their parents engaged in the listed practices during their childhood. The items remained the same, but the 5-point Likert scale anchors were changed such that possible responses were 1=Never, 2=Very Rarely, 3=Occasionally, 4=Often, 5=Very Often. Alpha reliabilities for the 123 parents are .87, .79 and .67 for preparation for bias, cultural socialization, and negative messages, respectively. A copy of the measure appears in Appendix 3.

**Racial Attitudes.** Select items from the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) were used to measure parental racial attitudes. Additional items were included. Although in their original form these questions are rated on Likert scales, for the current study parents rated their agreement with 20 statements using visual analog scales (VAS). Respondents were asked to place a mark on a 100-mm line to indicate their agreement with or the importance of each statement. Each item had anchors at each end (i.e., *Not true at all* at 0 mm to *Very true* at 100 mm; *Not important at all* and *Very important*). Eight items were used to assess parental beliefs about the current racial climate and racial privilege (e.g., "People are treated the same regardless of race/ethnicity"). Higher scores indicate stronger feelings of a racially hostile climate. Seven items were used to assess support for interracial ties (e.g., "It is important for children to have friends from many different ethnic groups") with higher scores signifying support for interracial relationships. Five items assessed beliefs about the importance of race teachings (e.g., "It is important for schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities"). Individuals who believed that people should have

racial discussions displayed higher scores on this subscale. The CoBRAS subscales have been shown to have acceptable reliability, ranging from .70 to .86 (Neville et al., 2000).

Five items regarding the importance of race discussions and teachings were factor analyzed using maximum likelihood extraction with Varimax (orthogonal) rotation. The analysis yielded two factors explaining a total of 49.62% of the variance for the entire set of variables. The first factor explained 28.71% of the variance. Factor 1 had high loadings by the following items: schools should teach about the history and contributions of racial/ethnic minorities, adults should teach children about the history and contributions of racial/ethnic minorities, and political leaders should talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems. One item (Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension) loaded on the second factor. The variance explained by this factor was 20.91%. The remaining item (there are not enough positive examples of minorities/diverse families in the media) did not load onto either factor. For the purposes of the current study, the first factor containing three items was used as an indicator of parental attitudes regarding the importance of racial teachings. Item scores were averaged for each subscale to create a composite score for each of the three subscales. Alpha reliabilities for these subscales in the current sample were .80, .60, and .65 for perceptions of racial climate and privilege, support for interracial ties, and the importance of race teachings, respectively. A copy of the measure appears in Appendix 4.

**Demographic Information.** At each time point, parents reported their relationship to the focal child. Parents were told to select the label (mother, father, grandparent, other relative, guardian, or other) that best described their relationship to the focal child. If a parent selected "other," they were instructed to specify their relationship. For the analysis examining change in



parent reported racial socialization practices over time (Hypothesis 2), only families who had the same caregiver reporting at all four time points were included ( $N=72$ ).

Parents also reported their marital status, educational attainment, and yearly income at the first time point. Marital status was indicated by the selection of one of the following: 1) married and living together, 2) married but separated, 3) divorced, 4) widowed, and 5) single and never married. Educational attainment was measured on a 10-point scale with responses ranging from “less than high school” to “doctoral or professional degree.” Parents reported their household income before taxes on an 11-point scale ranging from “under \$10,000 yearly/under \$200 weekly” to “over \$100,000 yearly/over \$2000 weekly.” A copy of the measure appears in Appendix 5.

## **Results**

### **Descriptive Statistics**

Prior to testing the study hypotheses, preliminary analyses were conducted. First, data were checked for possible outliers, of which none were found. Next, means and standard deviations for primary study variables were examined and are presented for youth and parents in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. Gender differences were examined for youth perceptions of parents’ racial socialization experiences and parent reports of current racial socialization practices, and these differences are noted in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. The means for both parent- and child-reported cultural socialization and preparation for bias across waves were moderate and nearly normally distributed. The mean levels for these types of racial socialization indicated that messages were transmitted three to five times in a year. However, means for negative messages were much lower than the other two subtypes of racial socialization and

tended to be positively skewed. This dimension had the lowest mean for both parent and adolescent reports.

In regard to change over time, both parent- and child-reported means for preparation for bias and cultural socialization suggest a non-linear growth trajectory; these means did not consistently increase or decrease from Grade 5 to Grade 12. However, the means at all four time points were around the midpoint of the scale, suggesting a lack of change over time in racial socialization. Unconditional latent growth curve models were used to further examine the growth trajectories of these two racial socialization subtypes and these results are discussed below. Plots for the means of preparation for bias and cultural socialization are displayed in Figures 2 and 3 for youth and parents, respectively.

**Intercorrelations among Study Variables.** In addition to examining means, bivariate correlations between key study variables were examined. Youth reports of racial socialization subtypes were positively related to one another within waves. The correlations between cultural socialization and preparation for bias within each of the four waves ranged from .62 to .73, all  $p$ 's < .01. Grade 10 negative messages were not significantly related to cultural socialization,  $r(248) = .10$ ,  $p > .10$ , but were weakly related to preparation for bias,  $r(248) = .14$ ,  $p < .05$ . In Grade 12, both preparation for bias and cultural socialization were related to negative messages,  $r(197) = .25$ , and  $r(197) = .32$ ,  $p$ 's < .01. Within subtypes of racial socialization, child reports of racial socialization were also related to one another across waves. Grade 5 preparation for bias was significantly related to later reports of preparation for bias, ranging from .14 to .30, all  $p$ 's < .05. Similarly, Grade 5 cultural socialization was moderately related to later reports of cultural socialization, estimates ranging from .20 to .29, all  $p$ 's < .05. There was a significant association between Grade 10 and Grade 12 negative messages,  $r(168) = .32$ ,  $p < .01$ .

Associations were also found for parent reports of racial socialization both within and across time. The correlations between preparation for bias and cultural socialization within each wave ranged from .62 to .72, all  $p$ 's < .01. Negative messages were unrelated to reports of cultural socialization or preparation for bias at Grades 10 and 12,  $r$ 's < .14,  $p$ 's > .10. Across waves, the correlations of reports of cultural socialization ranged from .34 to .59, all  $p$ 's < .05. Reports of preparation for bias were also positively correlated across time, estimates ranging from .51 to .56, all  $p$ 's < .05. Parent reports of negative messages at Grades 10 and 12 were unrelated,  $r(88) = -.03$ ,  $p > .10$ .

Significant correlations were observed across reporters of racial socialization. Parent- and child-reported cultural socialization were related within each wave,  $r(270) = .27$  (Grade 5),  $r(252) = .25$  (Grade 7),  $r(197) = .25$  (Grade 10),  $r(112) = .22$  (Grade 12), all  $p$ 's < .05. The relations between parent and child reports of preparation for bias within each wave was  $r(270) = .26$  (Grade 5),  $r(252) = .19$  (Grade 7),  $r(197) = .44$  (Grade 10),  $r(112) = .31$  (Grade 12), all  $p$ 's < .01. Parent and child reports of negative messages were not related in Grade 10 or Grade 12,  $r(174) = -.01$  and  $r(112) = .13$ , all  $p$ 's > .10.

Bivariate correlations between Grade 10 racial socialization and Grade 10 child-parent relationship quality were also examined. Child-parent relationship quality was not significantly related to child-reported preparation for bias or negative messages,  $r(248) = .06$ , and  $r(248) = .02$ , all  $p$ 's > .01. Child reported cultural socialization, however, was weakly related to child-parent relationship quality,  $r(248) = .13$ ,  $p < .05$ . None of the parent-reported racial socialization variables were related to parent-child relationship quality. Correlations between Grade 12 racial socialization and additional key Grade 12 variables were also examined and are presented in Table 3.

**Gender Differences in Racial Socialization.** A series of ANOVAs was used to test for gender differences on key racial socialization variables. Significant gender differences are noted in Tables 1 and 2. The results from the ANOVAs indicated that compared to boys, girls reported receiving more cultural socialization messages in Grade 12,  $F(1,196) = 3.90, p < .05$ . In addition, boys reported receiving more negative messages than girls in Grade 10,  $F(1,247) = 3.86, p < .05$ . Parents reported providing slightly more preparation for bias messages to sons compared to parents of daughters in both Grade 5 and Grade 10,  $F(1, 269) = 3.61$  and  $F(1, 202) = 3.43$ , all  $p$ 's  $< .10$ . No other gender differences were found.

### **Child-Parent Relationship Quality as a Moderator of Reports of Racial Socialization**

My first hypothesis was that Grade 10 youth and parent reports of racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages) would be more similar when children report having closer relationships with their primary parent. As mentioned previously, an examination of bivariate correlations revealed small positive associations between parent and child reports of two racial socialization subtypes. Parent-child relationship quality was examined as a potential factor that may increase the similarity between parent and child reports. Using each type of racial socialization message separately, three regression analyses were conducted in SPSS version 19 for Windows. Grade 10 youth-reported Racial Socialization (Preparation for Bias, Cultural Socialization, or Negative Messages), Child-Parent Relationship Quality, and the interaction of youth-reported Racial Socialization and Child- Parent Relationship Quality were investigated as predictors of parent reported Racial Socialization. Youth reported racial socialization and child-parent relationship quality were centered before the interaction terms were computed. Parent income and education served as controls. Cases where children listed a

primary parent who was different from the parent who completed the parent questionnaire were excluded ( $N = 11$ ). Results are presented in Table 4.

The overall model predicting parent-reported preparation for bias was significant,  $F(5, 171) = 4.86, p < .01$ . Parent education was significantly related to parent-reported preparation for bias, but the child-reported preparation for bias x child-parent relationship quality interaction was not significant. The overall models predicting parent reported cultural socialization and negative messages were not significant,  $F(5, 171) = 1.91$ , and  $F(5, 149) = .69$ , all  $p$ 's  $> .10$ . Contrary to Hypothesis 1, parent-child relationship quality was not a moderator of the congruency of parent and child reports of the three subtypes of racial socialization. None of the hypothesized interactions was significant; child reported racial socialization was not more strongly related to parent reports of the same type of racial socialization in the presence of high child-parent relationship quality.

### **Changes in Racial Socialization over Time**

In this investigation, one aim was to examine racial socialization trajectories using latent growth modeling (LGM). In order to examine the growth trajectories of parent and child reported preparation for bias and cultural socialization, four unconditional growth curve models were run. These first four models were unconditional LGM and provided information on individual differences in stability and change over time (Bollen & Curran, 2006). Parent reported racial socialization was examined only for families with the same reporter at each time point. Below I will first discuss the development of the two racial socialization subtypes. I will then describe gender differences in racial socialization. Results using parent and child reported racial socialization will be described separately.

**Developmental Changes in Racial Socialization.** My second hypothesis was that cultural socialization and preparation for bias would increase from Grade 5 to Grade 12. This finding was expected in both parent and child reported perspectives. The average slopes of the unconditional models for preparation for bias and cultural socialization were investigated. For parent reports, the model fit indices indicated adequate fit for the preparation for bias model ( $\chi^2(5) = 6.38, p > .05$ , RMSEA = .06, TLI = .99, CFI = .99) and cultural socialization ( $\chi^2(5) = 10.85, p < .05$ , RMSEA = .13, TLI = .93, CFI = .94). The slope for preparation for bias ( $B = -.02, SE = .02, p > .05$ ) was not significant. The slope for cultural socialization also suggested that cultural socialization did not significantly change over time ( $B = -.02, SE = .02, p > .05$ ). Thus, no support was found for Hypothesis 2 when examining parent reports.

The model fit indices for the child reported preparation for bias model indicated a good fit ( $\chi^2(5) = 12.26, p < .05$ , RMSEA = .06, TLI = .93, CFI = .95). Similar to results with parent perspectives, the preparation for bias slope was not significant ( $B = -.02, SE = .01, p > .05$ ). The cultural socialization model did not produce acceptable fit indices ( $\chi^2(5) = 32.69, p < .05$ , RMSEA = .12, TLI = .72, CFI = .77). The slope for cultural socialization was  $-.03 (SE = .01, p < .05)$ . This result is inconsistent with the hypothesis that cultural socialization would increase significantly over time. Nevertheless, these results must be interpreted cautiously because of the poor fitting model.

**Gender Differences in Racial Socialization Over Time.** According to Hypothesis 3, both youth and parents were expected to report that boys receive more preparation for bias than girls, who would receive more cultural socialization than boys. Additionally, gender differences were expected to appear in high school. To examine this hypothesis, four conditional LGM were run that included gender (0 = girls, 1 = boys) as a time-invariant covariate. Parent income and

education were included as control variables. Conditional LGM allows for the incorporation of predictors of individual differences over time (Curran & Hussong, 2003). The model fit indices indicated a good fit for the parent-reported preparation for bias model ( $\chi^2(11) = 11.08, p > .05$ , RMSEA = .01, TLI = .99, CFI = .99). The slope for preparation for bias was  $-.08 (SE = .04, p > .05)$ , again indicating that this subtype of racial socialization did not increase over time as hypothesized. Furthermore, there were no gender differences in preparation for bias at any of the time points. The hypothesized model predicting parent reported cultural socialization fit the data moderately ( $\chi^2(11) = 20.49, p < .05$ , RMSEA = .11, TLI = .84, CFI = .90). Again, the slope for cultural socialization was not significant ( $B = -.08, SE = .05, p > .05$ ), and gender was not related to the intercepts or slope. Contrary to Hypothesis 3, there were no gender differences in preparation for bias or cultural socialization as reported by parents when youth were in high school.

Model fit indices indicated good fit between the observed data and the hypothesized model for child reported preparation for bias ( $\chi^2(11) = 17.53, p > .05$ , RMSEA = .04, TLI = .93, CFI = .95). The preparation for bias slope was  $-.04 (SE = .03, p > .05)$ . There were no gender differences in preparation for bias in Grades 5, 7, 10, or 12. The model for cultural socialization yielded inadequate model fit ( $\chi^2(11) = 39.75, p < .05$ , RMSEA = .08, TLI = .62, CFI = .77). The cultural socialization slope was  $.00 (SE = .01, p = .41)$ . Gender was unrelated to the intercept at any of the four time points and was also not related to the slope. The expected gender differences in preparation for bias and cultural socialization were not supported with parent or child reports of racial socialization.

### **Predictors of Current Racial Socialization Practices**

To test whether parents' own received racial socialization experiences and parents' racial attitudes predicted their Grade 12 racial socialization practices, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used. Three sets of regressions were conducted for each reporter. One set of regressions examined preparation for bias as an outcome, the second set examined cultural socialization as an outcome, and the third set examined negative messages as an outcome. For each regression, parental received racial socialization and the three types of racial attitudes (perceptions of racial climate, support for interracial ties and racial teaching/discussion) were investigated as predictors. Parent income and education served as controls. I will discuss results with child-reported racial socialization as an outcome first and then proceed to parent reports of the three racial socialization subtypes. The results of the regression analyses are shown in Table 5.

Partial support was found for the hypotheses (Hypotheses 4 & 5) that parents' own received racial socialization and parents' racial attitudes would be related to their current racial socialization practices as reported by their children. Beginning with preparation for bias, the overall model was significant,  $F(6, 86) = 2.80$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .16$ . Parents who strongly endorsed ties with other races were marginally more likely to engage in more bias preparation as reported by their children,  $\beta = .18$ . Contrary to Hypotheses 4 and 5, parent received preparation for bias, perceptions of the racial climate, and the importance of race teachings were unrelated to child-reported preparation for bias.

The equation predicting cultural socialization was not significant,  $F(6, 86) = 1.54$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .01$ , indicating that neither parent received cultural socialization nor racial attitudes were related to child reports of current cultural socialization. Finally, the overall model predicting child-reported current negative messages was significant,  $F(6, 86) = 2.50$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .15$ . Parent



education was a marginally significant negative predictor of negative messages,  $\beta = -.22$ . Compared to their more educated counterparts, lesser educated parents were more likely to transmit negative messages. Consistent with Hypothesis 4, parents' reports of receiving negative messages during childhood were positively related to their children's reports of negative messages,  $\beta = .45$ . Parents who received more negative messages as children were more likely to currently transmit negative messages. Importance of race teachings was also a marginally significant predictor in the model,  $\beta = .21$ . Parents who strongly supported having discussions and teachings related to race were more likely to provide negative messages to their children as reported by their children.

Several relations were also found examining predictors of parent reported racial socialization. The overall model predicting preparation for bias was significant,  $F(6, 93) = 18.78$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .55$ . As expected, parents who received more childhood messages regarding being cautious of discrimination also transmitted more messages of the same type to their own child,  $\beta = .65$ . As also hypothesized, parents who believed the racial climate to be hostile were more likely to currently engage in preparation for bias. An overall significant model was found when predicting cultural socialization,  $F(6, 93) = 14.99$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .49$ . Again, parent receipt of racial socialization was a significant predictor of current participation in the same type of socialization,  $\beta = .65$ . Furthermore, parents who believed they lived in a hostile racial climate transmitted marginally more cultural socialization messages. The last regression, examining negative messages, was also significant,  $F(6, 93) = 5.77$ ,  $R\text{-square} = .27$ . As was found in the child model, lesser educated parents were more likely to transmit negative messages,  $\beta = -.22$ . Additionally, parents who received more childhood negative messages also reported transmitting those types

of messages more frequently,  $\beta = .45$ . Parents who supported interracial ties were less likely to report transmitting negative messages,  $\beta = -.29$ .

In sum, it was hypothesized that parents who reported receiving more of specific types of racial socialization messages in childhood would currently engage in more racial socialization practices of those types with their children. Support was found for this hypothesis with regard to negative messages when racial socialization was reported by the child and with all three subtypes of racial socialization when parent-reported racial socialization was examined. Some support was also found for the relation between parental racial attitudes and current racial socialization. Support for interracial ties was related to child-reported preparation for bias, and perceptions of the racial climate were related to parent-reported preparation for bias. No associations were found between parent racial attitudes and child-reported cultural socialization; however, perceptions of the racial climate were related to parent-reported cultural socialization as expected (Hypothesis 5). The importance of race teachings was unrelated to preparation for bias and cultural socialization. Compared to received racial socialization experiences, racial attitudes were expected to be stronger predictors of current racial socialization practices. However, contrary to Hypothesis 5, received racial socialization explained more variance in the models than parents' attitudes.

### **Profiles of Racial Socialization**

The remaining hypotheses were tested using latent profile analysis (LPA), an extension of latent class analysis (LCA). Whereas LCA can only accommodate categorical indicators, LPA allows for the use of continuous, ordinal, and categorical indicators (Muthén, 2001). Latent class models are based on the assumption that the frequency with which different items are endorsed can be explained by a few mutually exclusive respondent classes (Lubke & Muthén, 2005). Most

traditional cluster analysis methods are not model-based; however, LPA is model-based and provides probabilities for group membership based on responses to the observed indicators. One can examine predictors of class membership once latent classes are determined (Bauer & Curran, 2004; Lubke & Muthén, 2005).

One goal of the current study was to use LPA to classify African American adolescents into clusters on the basis of common patterns of received racial socialization. Profiles were examined with child perceptions of received racial socialization and parental reports of racial socialization practices. The next goal was to determine whether these clusters differed by child gender and parent income and education, racial attitudes, and parents' received racial socialization.

**Determining Model Fit.** Determining the best-fitting model for latent profile models is done by assessing several indicators. The entropy statistic is an index of the accuracy with which people have been classified into classes. The statistic ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating a better fitting solution. Additionally, the Lo-Mendell-Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LMRT, Lo Mendell & Rubin, 2001) can be used to compare the fit of a latent profile model to a model that specifies one fewer classes, given that they have the same parameterizations. This test uses the null hypothesis to compare the two models, and *p*-values greater than .05 indicate that the class with one fewer solutions fits better. The most commonly used indicators are the Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978) and the sample-size adjusted BIC. Lower values (i.e., closer to 0) on both of these indicators are indicative of better model fit. In addition to these statistical indicators, it is also recommended that theory, sample size, and profile distinctiveness be considered when deciding on the number of clusters.

### **Identifying the Cluster Solutions for Racial Socialization LPA Models. I**

hypothesized that Grade 10 reports of parental cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and negative messages would coalesce together to form three patterns of racial socialization. I hypothesized that there would be 1) a group of parents who transmit cultural socialization and preparation for bias in high frequency and negative messages in low frequency; 2) a group of parents who transmit all types of racial messages at low frequencies; and 3) a group of parents who transmit negative racial messages frequently and other racial socialization infrequently. To test this hypothesis, LPA models were used to investigate the plausibility of 1-, 2-, and 3-class solutions for Grade 10 racial socialization. Model testing stopped at three clusters because of the sample size and the limited number of cluster indicators. Testing more than three clusters resulted in model identification problems. Mplus Version 5.21 software package (Muthén & Muthén, 2007) was used for the latent profile analysis. A 1-class solution was tested first and classes were added iteratively to determine the best model fit for the data. Models were run using child and parent reports separately and these results will be presented separately below.

**Profiles of Parent-Reported Racial Socialization Practices.** One hundred seventy-seven parents had complete Grade 10 reports of racial socialization practices and the responses of these parents were used for the parent latent profile analysis. Contrary to the expected three-clusters, a two-cluster model was the best fitting model for parent-reported data. The lowest BIC and sample-adjusted BIC were associated with the three-cluster model, but the differences were minimal. Additionally, the third cluster, which only contained two participants, was not dissimilar enough to warrant the existence of an additional cluster. The Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test for the three-class model ( $p=.2771$ ) also indicated that the two-cluster model was the best fitting model. The entropy statistic had a value close to 1, indicating accuracy in

classification of individuals to profiles. Table 6 includes model fit information for the LPA models.

The first latent profile contained 60% ( $N=106$ ) of the parents, and the remaining 40% ( $N=71$ ) were classified into the second class. Means and standard errors are given in Table 7. The first group consisted of parents who transmitted generally moderate amounts of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and low amounts of negative messages. This cluster will be referred to as the ‘Moderate Positive’ cluster and is similar to a cluster that was hypothesized to exist. Members of this profile give moderate amounts of socialization that has been linked to positive youth outcomes. The second cluster, referred to as ‘High Positive,’ had higher than average levels of both cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and low levels of negative messages. Means for the two-class cluster model are displayed in Figure 4.

**Profiles of Child-Reported Racial Socialization Practices.** The sample for the child-reported racial socialization LPA analysis was 203; these youth had parent-reported education and income available. I expected three profiles to exist; however, a two-cluster solution best fit the data. Although the three-cluster solution had the lowest BIC and sample-adjusted BIC, the difference was small and other fit indices suggested the two-cluster was optimal. The entropy statistic for the two cluster model was higher. Additionally, the Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test for the three-class model was not significant ( $p=.1860$ ). Model fit information is displayed in Table 6.

Fifty-five percent ( $N=112$ ) of the youth were classified into the first profile and 45% ( $N=91$ ) were members of the second cluster. Cluster 1 was similar to the moderate positive cluster identified with parent reports; reports of preparation for bias and cultural socialization were slightly below the sample mean and negative messages were very low frequency (Table 6).

The second profile had above average levels of preparation for bias and cultural socialization. Additionally, this group was characterized by low levels of negative messages. Cluster 2 will be referred to as the high positive profile.

**Gender Differences in Group Classification.** One goal of the study was to examine the existence of gender differences in the racial socialization profiles. Gender (0 = girls, 1 = boys) was included as a covariate for the two-cluster models for both parent and child reported racial socialization. According to Hypothesis 6, no gender differences were expected in profile membership. LPA results provided support for this hypothesis. No child gender differences were found in parent or child racial socialization clusters.

**Socioeconomic Differences in Profile Membership.** It was hypothesized (Hypothesis 7) that the group who transmitted high levels of cultural socialization and preparation for bias and low levels of negative messages would have higher levels of income and education. Parent education and income were examined separately because they were highly correlated with one another. LPA results provided partial support for this hypothesis. Higher educated parents were more likely to be in the high positive cluster than in the moderate positive cluster as reported by parents ( $B = .28, SE = .10, p < .05$ ) and by children ( $B = .43, SE = .15, p < .05$ ) (Figure 6). However, there were no income differences in cluster membership.

### **Racial Attitude and Received Racial Socialization Differences in Profile Membership**

To date, 41% ( $N=72$ ) of the 177 parents used in the latent profile analysis have complete Grade 12 measures of interest (racial attitudes and parent received racial socialization). LPA were re-run with available data to test Hypotheses 8 and 9. These results will be presented in three parts. First, results for determining the appropriate number of clusters using this subsample will be described. Second, I will discuss racial attitude differences in profile membership. Lastly,

I will discuss parent received racial socialization differences in profile membership. These results will be presented separately for parent and child reports of racial socialization.

**Description of Clusters.** Again, a two-cluster model was the best fitting model for parent-reported data. The lowest BIC and sample-adjusted BIC were associated with the three-cluster model, but the differences were minimal. Additionally, the third cluster was not distinct and only contained two participants. The Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test for the three-class model ( $p=.1921$ ) also indicated that the two-cluster model was the best fitting model. The entropy statistic for the two-cluster model was close to 1, indicating accuracy in classification of individuals to profiles. The lower half of Table 6 provides model fit information for these models.

The first latent profile contained 58% ( $N=42$ ) of the parents, and the remaining 42% ( $N=30$ ) were classified into the second class. Means and standard errors are given in Table 7 in the columns labeled "Subsample." The two clusters that were identified mirrored the clusters found with the larger sample. The first group consisted of parents who transmitted generally moderate amounts of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and low amounts of negative messages (Moderate Positive). The second cluster (High Positive) had higher than average levels of both cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and low levels of negative messages.

The 72 cases used for the parent LPA were utilized for the LPA examining child-reported racial socialization; these cases had complete data on the covariates of interest. Again, model testing stopped at three clusters; testing more than three clusters resulted in model identification problems. According to Hypothesis 5, a three-profile model was expected. Table 6 shows the model fit information for child-reported racial socialization models. Although the non-significant LMR ( $p=.3117$ ) for the three-cluster solution suggested that the two-cluster model had better fit,

the lowest BIC and sample-adjusted BIC were associated with the three cluster model. An examination of the three-cluster model revealed the third cluster was not distinct and contained five participants. Therefore, the two-cluster model was retained. The entropy statistic for the two-cluster model was also in the acceptable range.

Sixty-one percent ( $N=44$ ) of participants were members of the first profile and 39% ( $N=28$ ) were in the second profile. Cluster 1 had moderate levels of preparation for bias and cultural socialization and low levels of negative messages. Again, this cluster mirrored the moderate positive cluster displayed by parents. The second cluster was characterized by relatively high levels of cultural socialization and preparation for bias and low levels of negative messages. Similar to the cluster found with parent reports, this cluster will be called ‘high positive.’ Table 7 displays the means for these two clusters.

**Racial Attitude Differences in Profile Membership.** Hypothesis 8 predicted parent racial attitude differences in profile membership. This hypothesis, however, was made regarding a profile for which its existence was not supported by the current data (i.e., a profile where race is not frequently discussed). Nevertheless, racial attitude differences were explored within the two-cluster models and no differences were found.

**Parent Received Racial Socialization Differences in Profile Membership.** According to Hypothesis 9, members of the high positive group would have higher levels of parent received cultural socialization and preparation for bias than the moderate positive group. Results from the parent-reported LPA model provided some support for this hypothesis; members of the high positive group had marginally higher reports of parent childhood preparation for bias ( $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $p < .10$ ) compared to members of the moderate positive group (Figure 7). No additional profile membership differences were found.



## Summary of Results

Overall, there was inconsistent support for hypotheses. An examination of the congruency of parent and child reports of racial socialization indicated small positive relations; although reports were related, there were substantial differences between parent and child views. Child-parent relationship was then examined as a characteristic that may shape the relation between parent and adolescent perspectives. However, contrary to my hypothesis, child-parent relationship quality was not a moderator of this relationship. The next set of analyses investigated changes in racial socialization practices over time. Expected significant increases in preparation for bias and cultural socialization practices from Grade 5 to Grade 12 were not found with either parent or child reported perspectives. Additionally, the latent growth models revealed no support for the hypothesized gender differences in racial socialization. Parent race attitudes and parent received racial socialization were examined as predictors of current racial socialization practices. As predicted, parents who received more of a subtype of racial socialization as a child were more likely to currently engage in that subtype of racial socialization. While this relation was found for all three parent-reported subtypes of racial socialization, only child-reported negative messages were related to negative messages parents reported receiving. Regarding the relation between parent racial attitudes and current racial socialization, results were inconsistent across reporters. It was hypothesized that parents who believed they currently lived in a racially hostile climate would be more likely to transmit preparation for bias messages. Although this relation existed with parent-reported preparation for bias, there was no relation using child-reports. The importance of race teachings was not related to preparation for bias or cultural socialization. Contrary to Hypothesis 5, parent racial attitudes were not more strongly related to racial socialization than parent received socialization.

The last set of analyses explored the transmission of combinations of racial socialization messages. The latent profile analyses indicated that two-cluster models were the best fitting models for both child and parent reports. Consistent with Hypothesis 6, a high positive cluster emerged. Additionally, a moderate positive cluster emerged. No support was found for the expected low racial frequency or negative profiles. Consistent with results found using a variable centered approach, there were no gender differences in profile membership. Some support was found for Hypothesis 8: profile membership differed by parent education in the predicted way according to both parent and child reports. However, anticipated income differences in cluster membership were not supported. Furthermore, no parent racial attitude differences in cluster membership were found. Finally, partial support was found for Hypothesis 10 regarding parent received racial socialization differences in profile membership. Parents who received more frequent preparation for bias as a child were more likely to be in the high positive cluster than the moderate positive cluster. No other received racial socialization differences emerged.

### **Discussion**

The current study had two overarching aims: 1) to propose a model of racial socialization for African American families, and 2) to test parts of the model related to parent and child predictors of racial socialization using both variable-centered and person-centered approaches. The study was unique in its longitudinal examination of racial socialization, incorporation of reports from both parents and children, and the utilization of multiple analytic methods. This study was the first to examine racial socialization practices longitudinally from Grade 5 to Grade 12. It included an analysis of gender differences at four different time points (Grade 5, Grade 7, Grade 10, and Grade 12) in an attempt to contribute to an area of literature where findings are mixed. The study also provided information on the roles of parents' own racial socialization

experiences, racial attitudes, and socioeconomic status in shaping parents' current engagement in racial socialization practices. Finally, a latent profile approach was used, acknowledging that racial socialization practices do not exist in isolation from one another and, instead, may be transmitted simultaneously. These topics are important in understanding factors that impact parental decisions to engage in racial socialization, a process that has been viewed as protective and necessary for the healthy development of minority youth.

Overall, African American youth received racial socialization consistent with what researchers believe to be adaptive (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Practices that were related to the African American culture and that emphasized pride in one's racial group occurred most frequently. Messages that raised awareness of racial discrimination were also transmitted quite frequently, but were less common than cultural socialization messages. The transmission of negative messages was very infrequent. These results were consistent across parent and child views of racial socialization practices.

### **Parent and Child Reports of Racial Socialization**

Research attempting to understand the nature of parental race-related practices has relied heavily, although not exclusively, on reports from one source. However, the few studies that have utilized adolescent and parent reports have evinced weak relations (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Unfortunately, little is known about factors that may increase the size of the relationship between child and parent reports of racial socialization. Given the vast literature showing increased relationships between racial socialization and positive youth outcomes in the context of other parenting practices, it seems likely that aspects of parenting may also bolster congruency between parent and youth reports of racial socialization. Therefore, the current study examined child and parent reports of racial socialization and

examined child-parent relationship quality as a possible moderator of the congruency of reports. In the current study, parents and youth were in agreement that cultural socialization and preparation for bias occurred frequently whereas negative messages occurred infrequently; however, correlations between parent and child reports were quite small, and contrary to the first hypothesis, child-parent relationship quality did not moderate the congruency between parent and child reports.

The nonsignificant finding related to child-parent relationship quality may suggest measurement problems. The racial socialization measure selected for the current study may not have fully captured true racial socialization practices. Research with a more validated scale would clarify the role of child-parent relationship quality in contributing to congruency between parent and child reports of racial socialization. Alternatively, the nonsignificant findings may suggest that other parenting variables are more important. Schönplflug (2001) found that authoritative parenting moderated the relation between child and parent reports of values. It is plausible that parenting style may also be important in the assessment of congruency of behaviors. Demographic factors may also be better predictors of reporter congruency. Characteristics such as child gender and family SES have been consistently examined as predictors of engagement in racial socialization (Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al, 1990). However, these characteristics may also moderate the relationship between parent and adolescent reports. For example, Thomas and King (2007) found moderate correlations between mother and daughter reports of cultural legacy socialization. Child gender may be a moderator of parent-child congruency; mothers and daughters may be more likely to have similar reports of racial socialization compared to mothers and sons. Within-family study designs would allow for the examination of gender as a moderator of reporter congruency.

Researchers may also need to better understand the existence of low correlations between parent and child reports of racial socialization before the examination of moderators. Racial socialization is a process that includes both the parent and the child, and experiences of these individuals may not be the same. These different experiences may lead to different reports of racial socialization practices. As noted by Marshall (1995), parents may intend to impart a message and children may not receive it. In this instance, a parent would report transmitting more racial socialization than the child would report receiving. Correlations between parent- and child-reported cultural socialization remained steady around .25 across the four waves. However, correlations between parent and youth reports of preparation for bias were higher when youth were in high school compared to elementary and middle school. Perhaps, as children age, preparation for bias message are more easily recognized and understood.

Methodological constraints may also prohibit us from fully capturing the racial socialization process. In the current study, participants were asked to retrospectively report on racial socialization practices over the past year. Memory limitations may cause some individuals to overestimate or underestimate the number of messages that have been transmitted. For example, parents may report on messages they intended to transmit or adolescents may mistake messages heard from other family members or peers as ones heard from a parent. Caughy et al.'s (2002) finding that parents' self-reports of ethnic-racial socialization did not predict child cognitive outcomes whereas the observational measure of racial socialization did provides further support for the methodological challenges associated with retrospective reports; individuals may not be able to recall all racial socialization practices. Additionally, compared to recalling verbal messages, it may be easier to recall behavioral practices such as going to a Black art museum. Therefore, congruency may be more or less likely to occur on reports of certain

types of racial socialization. Scales that disentangle behaviors from verbal messages would provide an opportunity to examine this relation.

Additionally, the instructions of the racial socialization instrument asked parents to report on messages specifically given to the target child. However, children are instructed to report on how often their parents transmit the listed messages. This inconsistency may lead to greater mismatch in parent and youth reports for two-parent households. Future studies are needed to examine whether children from two-parent households are more likely to have dissimilar reports of racial socialization. Future studies should also ensure a match between the parent a child is reporting on and the parent reporting their own practices. Researchers must work to understand where patterns of agreement and disagreement occur and the factors that may influence similar/dissimilar reports of racial socialization practices.

Examination of the items included on the racial socialization measure in the current study suggests that we are measuring low frequency behaviors; most parents engaged in these behaviors a few times over the last year. Because these behaviors happen so infrequently, the level of agreement between parents and youth may have been reduced. Additionally, the design of the racial socialization measure may have led respondents to mentally compare items within the scale, and rate frequency accordingly. Therefore, responses may not reflect the frequency of actual engagement in these behaviors, and instead reflect that certain behaviors occur more frequently than others, perhaps leading to discordance in reports.

### **Racial Socialization over Time**

Hypotheses were examined with information from both parents and children to provide evidence from multiple sources regarding the questions of interest. Youth and their parents in the present study reported preparation for bias and cultural socialization practices that were

relatively stable across time. At all four time points, the average report of these two subtypes of racial socialization corresponded with messages being transmitted three to five times over the past year. The lack of change in racial socialization as a function of youths' age is inconsistent with what one would expect based on theory and previous research (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006). Using a within-family design, McHale et al. (2006) noted that parents engaged in more cultural socialization and preparation for bias with older children ( $M_{\text{age}} = 13.9$ ) as compared to their younger siblings ( $M_{\text{age}} = 10.31$ ). However, this study was cross-sectional and had a more restricted age range. To my knowledge, the current study is the first to examine individual changes in racial socialization from Grade 5 to Grade 12. The longitudinal design of the present study provided a true examination of stability of individual difference over time. As an additional strength, parent and child reports of racial socialization were used and perspectives from both provide support for a lack of change in practices over time.

An additional potential explanation for findings divergent from what theory would predict may be related to characteristics of the current sample. Most of the students in the current study attended schools in which the majority of students were predominantly African American. It may be likely that the transition to middle and high schools that were predominantly African American decreased the likelihood that parents would substantially increase their racial socialization. In addition, the current study relies on reports at discrete times (Grade 5, 7, 10, and 12). However, racial socialization practices are continuously evolving as youth and parents have different experiences. There may be unobserved changes that occur before or between measurement time points, masking the actual process that occurs. For example, it may be that preparation for bias messages increase over time prior to fifth grade and then level off. Perhaps

more measurement time points at more closely spaced intervals would provide a more detailed view of change in racial socialization messages.

### **Gender Differences in Racial Socialization Practices**

Overall, studies examining gender differences in racial socialization have noted mixed findings. Although some studies have found that girls are more likely to receive cultural socialization messages and boys are more likely to receive preparation for bias (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999), several studies have reported no significant gender differences (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009). The current study found mixed support for the existence of gender differences in racial socialization. An examination of means using a series of ANOVAs revealed findings in line with theory: compared to boys, girls reported receiving more cultural socialization in Grade 12. Furthermore, parents of boys reported providing more preparation for bias in Grades 5 and 10 than parents of girls. In contrast, results from the LGMs indicated no gender differences in racial socialization practices. The small sample for the parent models and the poor fit of some models necessitates caution in interpretation. However, full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was used in the child growth models. This method makes use of all available observed data and allows missingness to occur without the deletion of cases. Instead, larger weights are assigned to cases with more observations, which yields less biased parameter estimates (Wothke, 1998). Using FIML may, therefore, lead to a more accurate estimation of the existence of gender differences, compared to the ANOVA method which utilizes listwise deletion. Gender differences in profile membership were not found in the current study with either parent or child reported racial socialization.



The mixed findings suggest that more research is needed to better understand how gender operates. One potential explanation for the lack of gender differences may be that African American parents believe that racial socialization is important for their children, regardless of gender. Although a wealth of literature documents the racial discrimination experiences of African American men, a growing body of research indicates that African American women also experience discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). For Black women, stereotypes about hypersexuality and anger are prevalent (Thomas & King, 2007). Parents may therefore believe that preparation for bias is just as important for their daughters as it is for their sons.

### **Parent Characteristics as Predictors of Current Racial Socialization Practices**

Researchers in the racial socialization field have become increasingly interested in caregiver characteristics that lead parents to engage in more or less racial socialization. I examined parent socioeconomic status, parent racial attitudes, and parent received racial socialization as factors that may influence parents' tendencies to transmit race-related messages. LPA results indicated that more educated parents were more likely to be in the profile characterized by higher amounts of preparation for bias and cultural socialization. These results are consistent with theory and prior research that suggests that more educated parents may have different experiences that compel them to think more about race. Additionally, these parents may have access to more resources, such as museum memberships or books about African American history, that allow them to engage in race-related practices more frequently. I hypothesized income differences in the frequency with which racial socialization messages were transmitted because previous research has demonstrated that lower income parents are less likely to engage in racial socialization (McHale et al., 2006). However, in the present study, the presence of income differences was not supported. Almost two-thirds of the sample was low-income; this

limited variability in income may have reduced the statistical power needed to detect income effects.

Parent racial beliefs were believed to be proximal influences of current racial socialization practices. Parents who believe they are rearing a child in a racially hostile climate may feel the need to protect their children from this negativity. These parents may engage in discussions about discrimination as a means to raise awareness about the existence of bias. Support for this relation was found in the current study utilizing parent-reported preparation for bias but not for child-reported bias preparation. It was also hypothesized that parents who believed in the importance of teaching children about race would be more likely to engage in both preparation for bias and cultural socialization. No support was found for this hypothesis. Also, parent race attitude differences were not found in profile membership. The sample size for the LPA in the current study, however, was quite small. It must also be noted that the measure of racial attitudes used in the current study is new, and more research is needed to examine its validity. Nevertheless, these results are consistent with Hughes (2003), who found no relation between a measure of racial attitudes and parent race-related practices. Given the limited research in this area, additional research is needed to better understand exactly which parent racial attitudes are related to engagement in racial socialization practices.

Parental racial socialization practices are shaped by parents' life experiences, childhood experiences included. Specifically, parental beliefs about what practices to currently engage in are probably shaped by the racial socialization one received as a child. Support for the existence of this relationship was found using both a variable-centered and a person-centered approach. Results from the regression analysis indicated that parents who received more of the three explored racial socialization subtypes were more likely to report currently engaging in these

same subtypes with their own child. This finding with negative messages is also supported with child-reported racial socialization. Furthermore, additional support for the importance of childhood preparation for bias was demonstrated in the LPA analysis. Parents who received higher amounts of preparation for bias as a child were more likely to be in the profile that transmitted higher amounts of preparation for bias. These findings are consistent with the two previous studies that have linked childhood and current racial socialization (Hughes & Chen 1997; White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers, 2010). However, it is important to note that parent reports of received racial socialization are retrospective, and therefore subject to possible memory distortions. For example, a parent may have received preparation for bias messages as a child but did not view them as important, and therefore does not remember receiving them. Incorporation of measures that are not retrospective will clarify the role of parent received racial socialization in shaping current racial socialization practices.

### **Profiles of Racial Socialization**

The current study contributed to the larger literature by examining the multidimensionality of racial socialization practices by accounting for the transmission of different racial socialization subtypes simultaneously. Reports of racial socialization indicate that parents communicate a variety of racial socialization messages to their children (see Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006 for a review). These types of racial socialization are not transmitted in isolation from one another, and the particular combination of messages conveyed may have important implications for functioning (Neblett et al., 2008). It is therefore important to better understand the different combinations that exist and the characteristics of the individuals who are likely to transmit and receive these combinations.

Partial support was found for the hypothesis regarding the existence of profiles. Consistent with hypotheses, the high positive cluster that emerged using both parent and child reported racial socialization was characterized by high levels of both preparation for bias and cultural socialization. This cluster was similar to the one described by Neblett and colleagues (2008). Neblett et al. (2008) also identified a moderate negative cluster where means of preparation for bias and cultural socialization were slightly lower than those of the high positive cluster. This profile also emerged in the current study using both parent and child perspectives. A profile in which parents transmitted all types of racial socialization at low frequency was not found. Also, there was limited variability on the negative messages subscale which precluded the finding of a cluster with higher frequency of messages related to devaluing Black culture. Potential reasons for the restricted variability are discussed in the next section.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

In addition to those already described, several important limitations of the current study need to be considered. Although common in the racial socialization literature, the reliance on a non-representative sample of African American youth and their parents from a specific region of the United States limits the ability to generalize the findings beyond the current study. Additionally, the present study focused on urban African American youth, most of whom attended predominantly African American schools. It is likely that school racial composition influenced the transmission of racial socialization messages. Brown et al. (2007) found the percentage of minorities at the child's school to be a predictor of racial socialization for a sample of kindergarteners. The current sample was also relatively low-income. Parents of lower socioeconomic status have been shown to use less racial socialization compared to their higher income counterparts (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Although this sample provided the opportunity to

test theoretically important questions, more representative samples would increase the external validity of the results.

As previously discussed, there are study limitations related to the measurement of racial socialization. Even though most studies of racial socialization rely on self-report methods, there are shortcomings associated with this method of assessment. Utilization of these methods assume that parents are aware of the messages they transmit, that children receive and understand the messages that parents intend to transmit, and that parents and children are willing to report messages correctly (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). For example, reports of negative messages in the current sample were very infrequent. However, White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010) and Neblett et al. (2008) noted the existence of individuals who reported moderate amounts of negative messages. It may be that these messages are not that common in the current sample. However, it is equally likely that individuals may be uncomfortable reporting on messages that devalue Black culture. Future research should begin to include different methods to assess racial socialization that may account for the weaknesses of self-report methods. For example, in addition to a self-report measure, Caughy et al. (2002) used a 10-item observational check list to document items in the home as a marker of racial socialization. Additional methods need not be seen as a replacement of existing self-report measures, but instead as a contributor to a more comprehensive multimethod assessment of racial socialization.

The current measure of racial socialization only contained three dimensions of racial socialization. There is, however, evidence for the existence of other dimensions. For example, egalitarianism, or messages that emphasize equality between racial groups, has been found to be prevalent among African American parents (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1999). If researchers hope to have a more complete understanding of the nature of racial socialization, we

must attempt to include all aspects of racial socialization. Although the current study contributed to our understanding of the transmission of multiple types of racial socialization, the inclusion of additional racial socialization subtypes would have allowed a more comprehensive examination.

Finally, as researchers continue to think about the nature of racial socialization, we must think about what aspects of racial socialization practices are important. The most widely used measures of racial socialization, including the one used in the current study, examine the frequency with which messages are transmitted. For example, two of the most commonly used measures of racial socialization (Hughes and Chen, 1997; (Lesane-Brown et al., unpublished manuscript) ask participants how often a practice has been engaged in over the last year. However, other researchers (e.g., Thornton et al., 1990) examined the presence and absence of racial socialization. Messages that are transmitted once may be as important and impactful as messages transmitted multiple times. Researchers must work to understand if pure engagement in a practice is more or less important the number of times a parent engages in a practice.

### **Contributions and Implications**

The current study makes several important empirical and theoretical contributions to the racial socialization literature. Results of this study further support prior research on parent-child congruence by finding small, positive correlations between parent and child reports on two dimensions of racial socialization. This contrast in racial socialization perspectives is especially important given that some examined predictors of racial socialization were not related to child reports in the same way they were to parent reports. Consequently, this inconsistency necessitates a call for a better understanding of when parents and their children may have more similar racial socialization accounts. A more complete understanding of reporter congruency has implications for parental racial socialization practices and youth functioning; parents can become

more knowledgeable regarding how to effectively transmit messages to their children which, in turn, may increase the likelihood that children experience the types of racial socialization practices that have consistently been linked to positive outcomes.

Furthermore, a contribution of the current study is its examination of predictors of racial socialization utilizing two different methodological approaches. Understanding what factors prompt parents to engage in racial socialization has important implications and may lead to healthier psychosocial outcomes for youth. The majority of research examining predictors of racial socialization has done so using variable-centered approaches. More recently, however, researchers have begun to use more person-centered approaches, acknowledging that racial socialization practices are transmitted simultaneously. Both of these methods have merit; however, one should be sure to select the method that is appropriate for the research question. If a single type of racial socialization is the focus, variable-centered approaches are ideal. On the other hand, if one is interested in the totality of racial socialization practices, person-centered approaches are more appropriate.

Lastly, the present study also adds to the literature by being the first study that utilizes a longitudinal design to assess racial socialization developmentally from Grade 5 to Grade 12. To date, most of our knowledge regarding age-related changes in racial socialization comes from the use of cross-sectional studies or comparisons across studies. Longitudinal designs, however, provide an examination of changes within individuals as well as the variations among them. Understanding changes that occur in parents' racial socialization across the span of their children's development as well as child- and parent characteristics that are linked to individual differences across families will help us to better understand how African American parents work to help their children understand the role race will play in their lives.

Table 1

*Descriptive Data for Child-Reported Variables, by Gender*

	5 <sup>th</sup> Grade			7 <sup>th</sup> Grade			10 <sup>th</sup> Grade			12 <sup>th</sup> Grade		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)
Preparation for Bias	2.67 (0.91)	2.76 (0.93)	2.71 (0.92)	2.87 (0.86)	2.80 (0.96)	2.83 (0.92)	2.61 (0.91)	2.57 (1.00)	2.58 (0.96)	2.71 (1.01)	2.68 (1.15)	2.69 (1.10)
Cultural Socialization <sup>b</sup>	2.98 (1.04)	3.03 (0.92)	3.01 (0.97)	3.22 (0.81)	3.21 (0.92)	3.21 (0.87)	2.89 (0.99)	3.10 (1.05)	3.01 (1.03)	2.66 (0.95)	2.96 (1.12)	2.85 (1.06)
Negative Messages <sup>a</sup>							1.26 (0.64)	1.12 (0.46)	1.18 (0.54)	1.31 (0.54)	1.30 (0.60)	1.30 (0.57)
Relationship Quality							4.02 (0.74)	3.89 (0.90)	3.94 (0.84)			
	n=161	n=211	n= 372	n=122	n=171	n=293	n=105	n=143	n=248	n=75	n=122	n=197

*Note:* No gender differences were found in Grade 5 or Grade 7 reports. <sup>a</sup> Girls differed from boys at  $p < .05$  in Grade 10; <sup>b</sup> Girls differed from boys at  $p < .05$  in Grade 12.



Table 2

*Descriptive Data for Parent-Reported Variables, by Child Gender*

	5 <sup>th</sup> Grade			7 <sup>th</sup> Grade			10 <sup>th</sup> Grade			12 <sup>th</sup> Grade		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)
Preparation for Bias <sup>ab</sup>	3.04 (1.07)	2.80 (1.00)	2.91 (1.04)	2.70 (0.95)	2.69 (0.99)	2.69 (0.97)	3.11 (1.14)	2.82 (1.13)	2.94 (1.14)	2.76 (1.08)	2.80 (1.09)	2.79 (1.09)
Cultural Socialization	3.23 (1.05)	3.21 (0.97)	3.22 (1.00)	2.91 (0.92)	3.05 (0.94)	2.99 (0.93)	3.24 (0.96)	3.18 (1.03)	3.21 (1.00)	2.89 (0.95)	3.08 (1.10)	3.03 (1.06)
Negative Messages							1.03 (0.25)	1.08 (0.35)	1.06 (0.31)	1.01 (0.05)	1.14 (0.51)	1.10 (0.43)
Rec. Preparation for Bias												2.95 (0.99)
Rec. Cultural Socialization												3.05 (0.88)
Rec. Negative Messages												1.29 (0.48)
Perception of Racial Climate												56.41 (17.76)
Support for Interracial Ties												64.28 (12.75)
Race Teaching & Discussion												62.62 (12.08)
	n=122	n=148	n= 270	n=102	n=150	n=252	n=87	n=116	n=203*	n=38	n=85	n=123**

Note: Rec. = Received; \*the sample size for negative messages in Grade 10 is 177; \*\*the sample size for perception of racial climate, support for interracial ties, and race teaching and discussion is 106; <sup>a</sup> Parents of girls differed from parents of boys at  $p < .10$  in Grade 5; <sup>b</sup> Parents of girls differed from parents of boys at  $p < .10$  in Grade 10; parents of daughters did not differ from parents of sons in Grade 7 or Grade 12 reports.

Table 3

*Bivariate Correlations between Grade 12 Study Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Cultural Socialization (C)															
2. Preparation for Bias (C)	.68**														
3. Negative Messages (C)	.26**	.32**													
4. Cultural Socialization (P)	.22**	.21*	.00												
5. Preparation for Bias (P)	.26**	.44**	.09	.72											
6. Negative Messages (P)	.14	.09	.13	.06	.14										
7. Rec. Cultural Socialization	.24*	.11	-.01	.69*	.47**	.15									
8. Rec. Preparation for Bias	.19*	.28	.08	.57*	.75*	.15	.64**								
9. Rec. Negative Messages	.06	.05	.29**	.17	.32	.40**	.23*	.45**							
10. Parent Education	.02	.20*	-.06	.09	.24	-.12	.09	.24**	.14						
11. Parent Income	-.02	.20*	.07	-.01	.15	-.04	.06	.21*	-.02	.55					
12. Perception of Racial Climate	.13	.26**	.05	.20	.40**	.00	.09	.34**	.11	.33**	.21*				
13. Endorsement of Social Ties	.05	.17	.01	.09	.13	-.26	.04	.02	-.02	.06	.03	-.02			
14. Race Teaching & Discussion	.24*	.23*	.10	.11	.12	-.05	.12	.04	-.06	.22*	.19	.25**	.27**		
15. Youth Gender	-.14	.01	.01	-.09	-.02	.14	.11	.05	.00	.21*	.28**	-.05	-.04	.05	

Notes: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ ; Gender is coded such that 0 = girl and 1 = boy; C = child reported current racial socialization; P = parent reported current racial socialization; Rec = received racial socialization.

Table 4

*Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Estimates of Models Predicting Grade 10 Parent-Reported Racial Socialization from Child-Reported Racial Socialization and Child-Parent Relationship Quality*

	B	SE B	$\beta$
Preparation for Bias			
Parent education	.11	.04	.20*
Parent income	.00	.03	-.01
Child reported preparation for bias	-.09	.33	-.07
Parent-child relationship quality	-.11	.23	-.04
Child reported preparation for bias x relationship quality interaction	.07	.10	.32
R <sup>2</sup>		.18	
Cultural Socialization			
Parent education	.02	.03	.04
Parent income	.00	.02	.02
Child reported cultural socialization	.55	.35	.58
Parent-child relationship quality	.21	.20	.22
Child reported cultural socialization x relationship quality interaction	-.09	.08	-.46
R <sup>2</sup>		.06	
Negative Messages			
Parent education	.00	.02	-.02
Parent income	-.01	.01	-.09
Child reported negative messages	-.15	.22	-.24
Parent-child relationship quality	-.06	.08	-.14
Child reported negative messages x relationship quality interaction	.04	.06	.28
R <sup>2</sup>		.03	

Note. \*p<.05.

Table 5

*Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Estimates of Models Predicting Grade 12 Racial Socialization from Parent Received Racial Socialization and Racial Attitudes, by Reporter*

Predictor	Outcome			Outcome		
	Child Reported			Parent Reported		
	Racial Socialization			Racial Socialization		
	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$
Preparation for Bias						
Income	.06	.05	.17	-.03	.03	-.08
Education	-.03	.06	-.06	.02	.04	.05
Parent Received Preparation for Bias	.21	.13	.17	.76	.09	.65*
Perceptions of Race Climate	.01	.01	.14	.01	.01	.18*
Race Discussion/Teaching	.01	.01	.11	.00	.01	.03
Endorsement of Social Ties	.02	.01	.18 <sup>t</sup>	.01	.01	.11
R <sup>2</sup>		.16			.55	
Cultural Socialization						
Income	.00	.05	-.01	-.05	.03	-.13
Education	-.04	.06	-.08	.01	.04	.02
Parent Received Cultural Socialization	.25	.13	.21	.78	.09	.65*
Perceptions of Race Climate	.00	.01	.07	.01	.01	.15 <sup>t</sup>
Race Discussion/Teaching	.02	.01	.18	.00	.01	.02
Endorsement of Social Ties	.00	.01	.02	.01	.01	.08
R <sup>2</sup>		.01			.49	
Negative Messages						
Income	.04	.03	.21	.01	.01	.11
Education	-.07	.04	-.24 <sup>t</sup>	-.03	.02	-.22 <sup>t</sup>
Parent Received Negative Messages	.39	.12	.32*	.30	.06	.45*
Perceptions of Race Climate	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00	-.04
Race Discussion/Teaching	.01	.01	.21 <sup>t</sup>	.00	.00	.08
Endorsement of Social Ties	.00	.01	.01	-.01	.00	-.29*
R <sup>2</sup>		.15			.27	

Note. \* $p < .05$ , <sup>t</sup> $p < .10$

Table 6

*Model Fit Indices for Racial Socialization Latent Profile Models*

	1 cluster	2 clusters	3 clusters
<u>Full Sample</u>			
		Child Report	
No. of free parameters	6	10	14
BIC	779.998	727.96	725.32
Adjusted BIC	800.17	696.28	680.96
Entropy	<sup>a</sup>	.86	.75
LMR LRT <i>P</i> -value for k-1	<sup>a</sup>	.0135	.1860
		Parent Report	
No. of free parameters	6	10	14
BIC	845.65	723.44	662.59
Adjusted BIC	826.64	691.76	618.24
Entropy	<sup>a</sup>	.87	.91
LMR LRT <i>P</i> -value for k-1	<sup>a</sup>	.00	.2771
<u>Subsample (<i>N</i>=72)</u>			
		Child Report	
No. of free parameters	6	10	14
BIC	964.81	618.93	533.70
Adjusted BIC	946.82	607.23	460.59
Entropy	<sup>a</sup>	.81	.80
LMR LRT <i>P</i> -value for k-1	<sup>a</sup>	.0273	.3117
		Parent Report	
No. of free parameters	6	10	14
BIC	598.06	283.06	280.86
Adjusted BIC	579.06	223.20	208.39
Entropy	<sup>a</sup>	.93	.90
LMR LRT <i>P</i> -value for k-1	<sup>a</sup>	.00	.1921

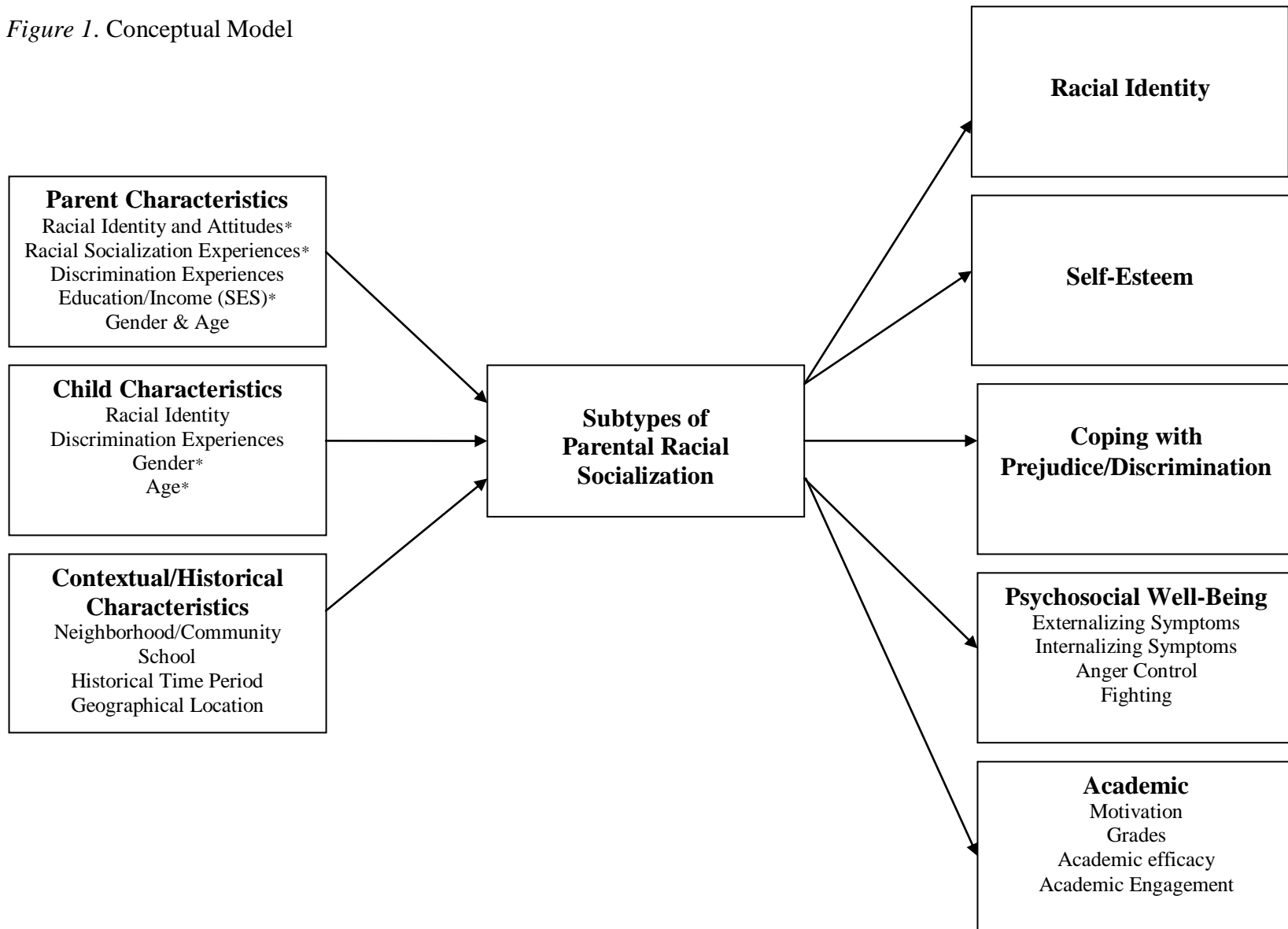
*Note:* The two-cluster model was best fit for both reporters. BIC= Bayesian information criterion; LMR LRT = Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test. <sup>a</sup>Value not obtained for a one-cluster model.

Table 7

*Means, Standard Errors, and Proportions for Racial Socialization Profiles*

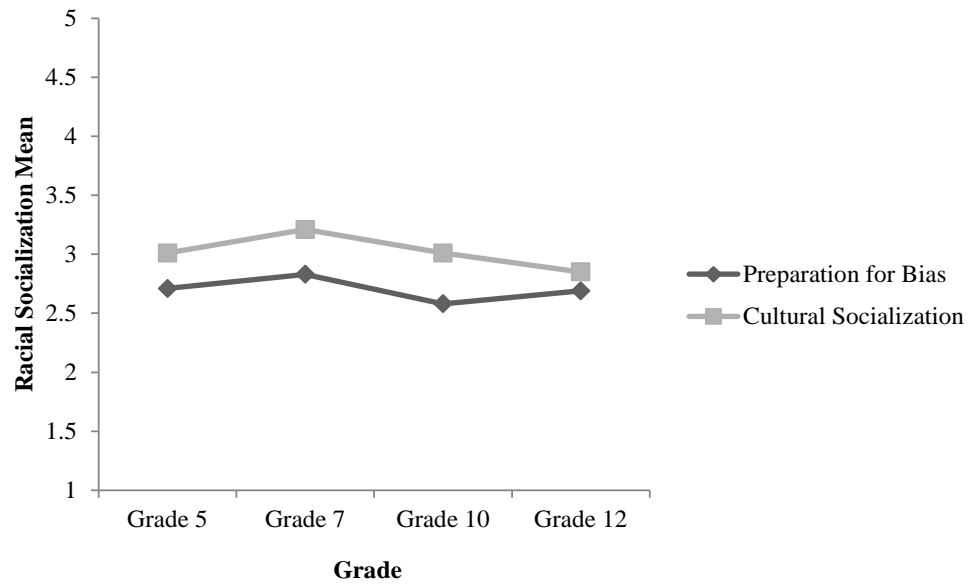
Latent Profiles				
	High Positive		Moderate Positive	
	Full Sample	Subsample	Full Sample	Subsample
Child Report				
	Mean (SE)		Mean (SE)	
Preparation for Bias	3.27 (.12)	3.10 (.62)	2.03 (.10)	1.87 (.42)
Cultural Socialization	3.89 (.11)	3.76 (.38)	2.29 (.11)	2.30 (.98)
Negative Messages	1.02 (.01)	1.05 (.04)	1.03 (.01)	1.01 (.01)
Cluster Proportions	.45	.39	.55	.61
Parent Report				
	Mean (SE)		Mean (SE)	
Preparation for Bias	4.19 (.09)	4.20 (.14)	2.16 (.06)	2.07 (.11)
Cultural Socialization	4.04 (.09)	4.12 (.14)	2.70 (.08)	2.53 (.13)
Negative Messages	1.00 (.01)	1.00 (.02)	1.01 (.01)	1.03 (.02)
Cluster Proportions	.40	.42	.60	.58

Figure 1. Conceptual Model



Note: \*Items tested in the current study.

*Figure 2.* Child-reports of preparation for bias and cultural socialization did not change from Grade 5 to Grade 12.





*Figure 3.* Parent reports of preparation for bias and cultural socialization did not change from Grade 5 to Grade 12.

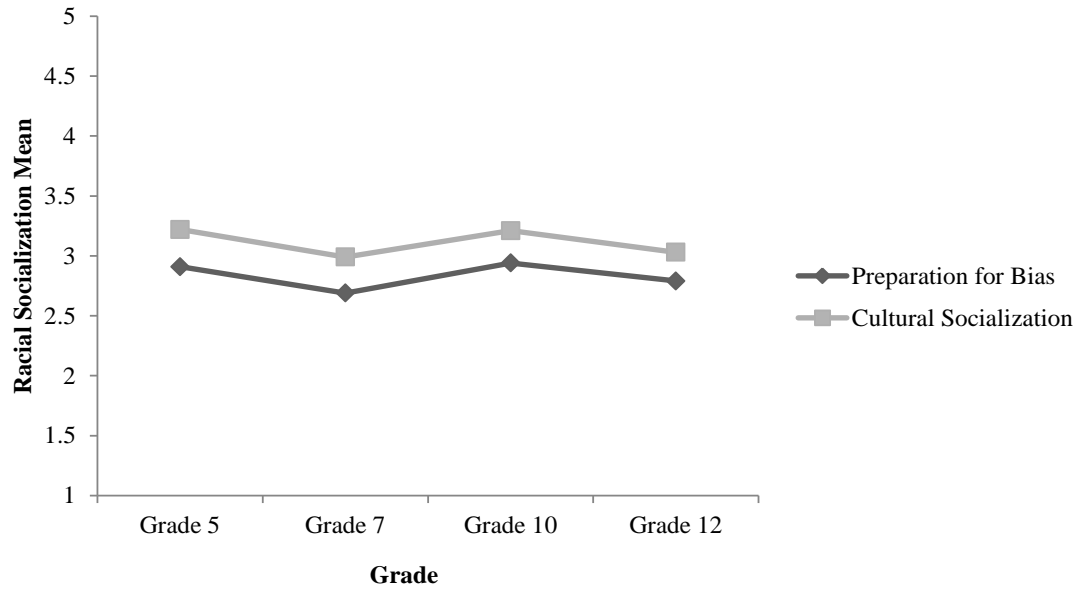


Figure 4. Estimated racial socialization means for parent reported two-cluster LPA model

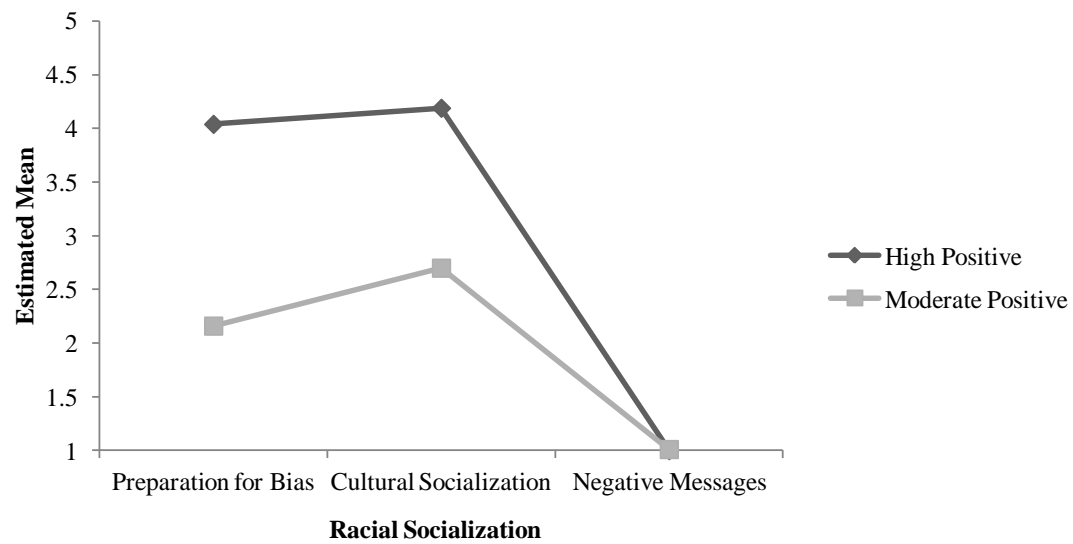


Figure 5. Estimated racial socialization means for child reported two-cluster LPA models

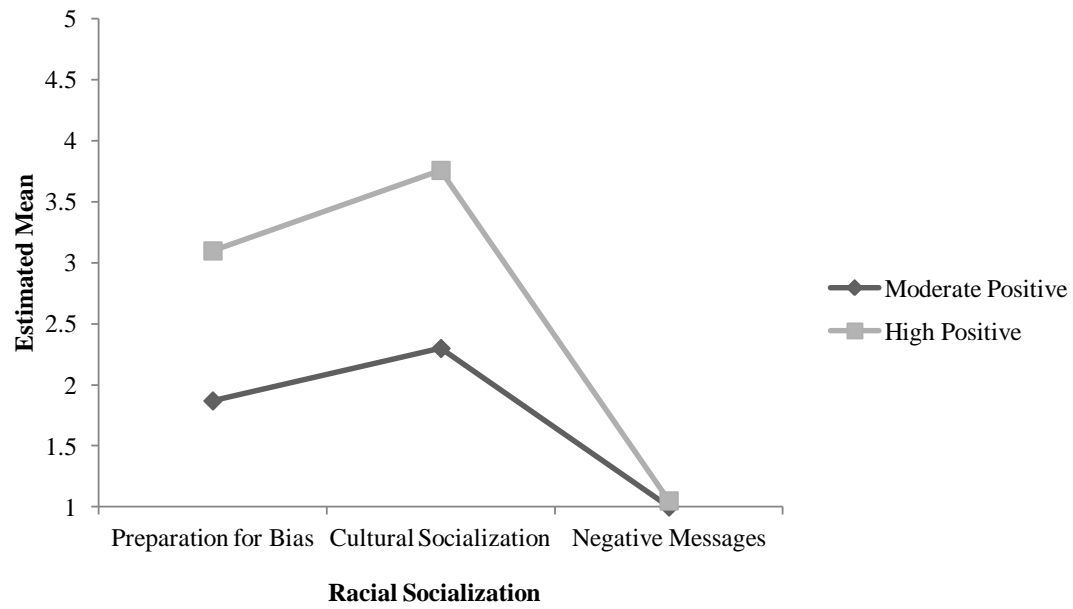


Figure 6. Parent education differences in profile membership

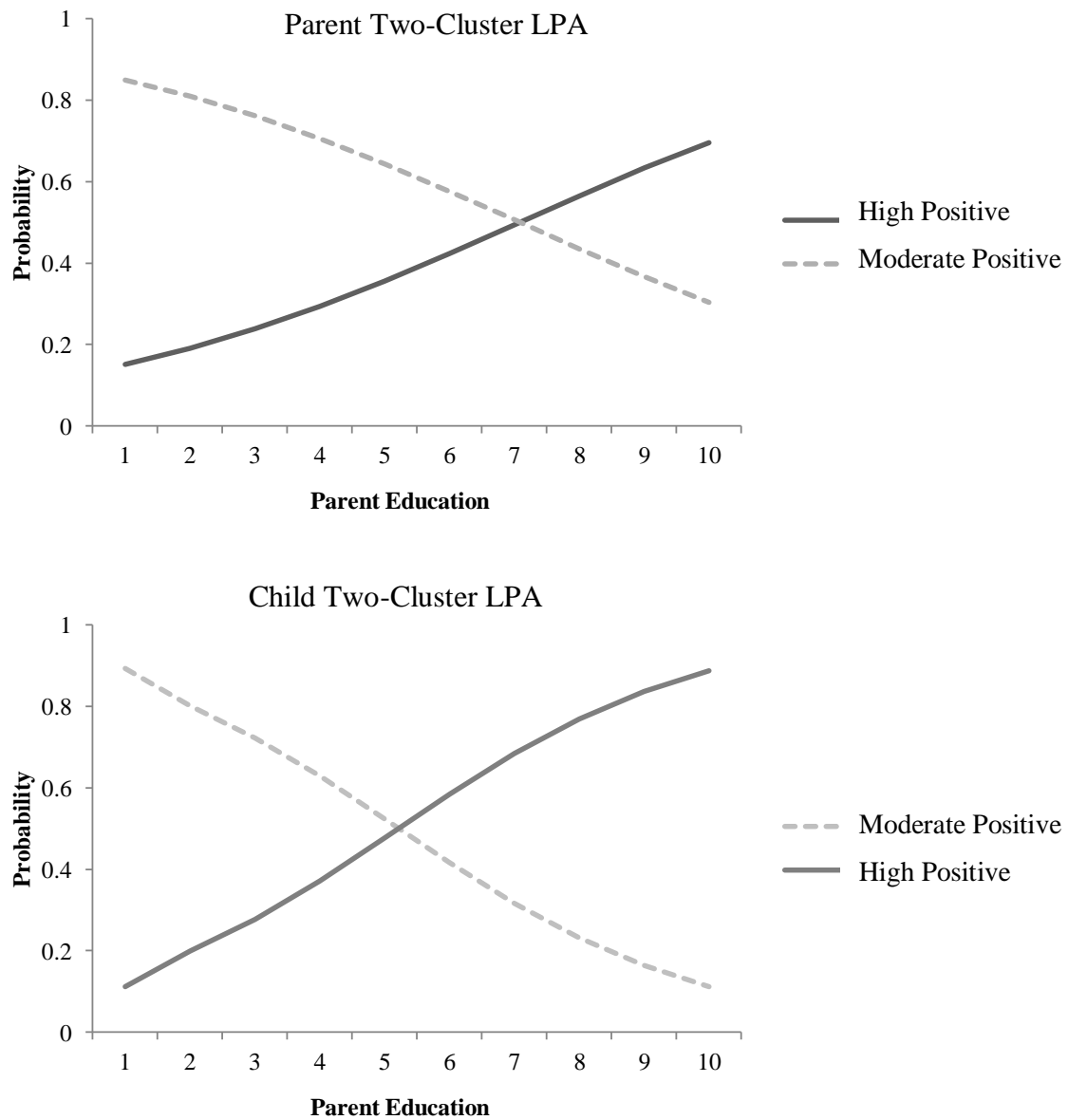
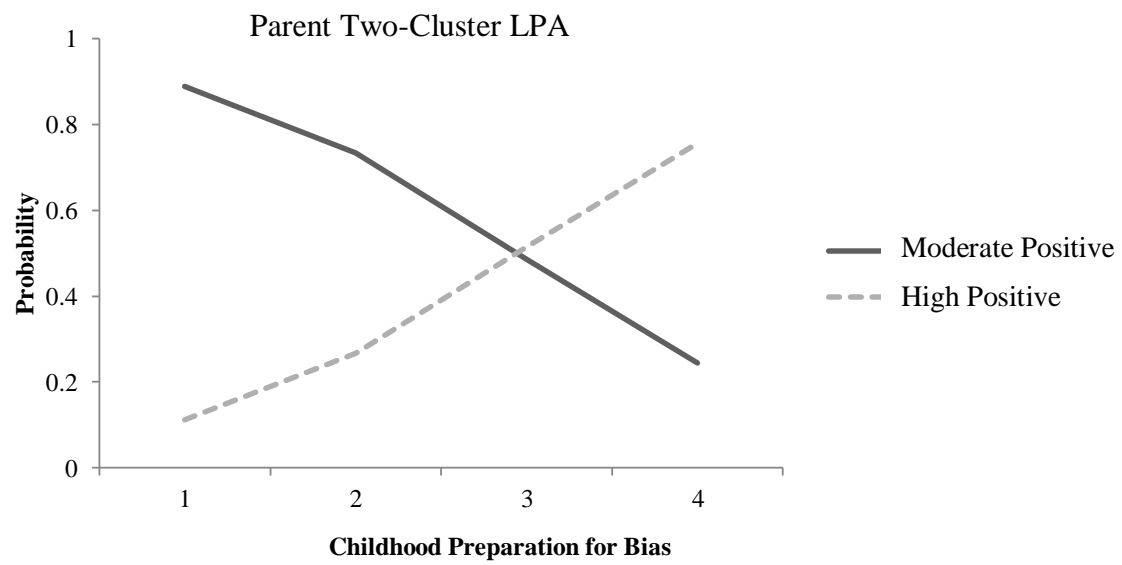


Figure 7. Received preparation for bias differences in profile membership



## Appendix A

### Complete List of Items in the Questionnaire

#### 1. Race Socialization

Sometimes parents talk with their kids about what it means to be Black. During the past year, how often have your parents done the following:

	Never	Once or Twice	3 to 5 Times	6 to 10 Times	More than 10 Times
1. Talked to you about racism.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
2. Said that people might treat you badly due to race.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
3. Told you to dress in ways that are less “Black.”	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
4. Talked about something you saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Blacks.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
5. Talked to you about Black people’s fight for the same rights that other people have.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
6. Said that other people might try to limit you because of race.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
7. Told you that being Black is nothing to be proud of.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
8. Taken you to Black cultural events.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
9. Told you it is best to act like Whites.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
10. Done things to celebrate Black history.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
11. Talked to you about a different view of things you learned in school.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
12. Taken you to get Black clothes (FUBU) or hair styles (e.g., corn rows).	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
13. Talked about people being proud to be Black.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
14. Told you that Black kids must be better than White kids to get the same rewards.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
15. Told you that Blacks are not as smart as people of other races.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
16. Talked about the accomplishments of Black individuals.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
17. Told you that White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
18. Told you that learning about Black history is not important.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+
19. Bought music of Black artists for you.	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	10+

## 2. Parents and Teens

The following questions are about your interactions with the adult who is your primary parent. That person might be your mother, your grandmother, your father, an aunt, or someone else. Please think about the adult who plays the most important parental role for you and rate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Who is your primary parent? (Circle One):

Mother Father Grandmother Other \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	My parent is what I think an ideal parent should be.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	There is real love and affection for me at home.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	My parent tries to understand my problems and worries.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I am happy when I am at home.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I talk over important plans with my parent.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I often have good times at home with my parent.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I trust my parent to keep promises to me.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I feel that my parent is proud of me.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	My parent usually treats me fairly.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I feel close to my parent.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I know that my parent is my friend.	1	2	3	4	5

### 3. Parent Received Racial Socialization

Sometimes parents talk with their children about what it means to be Black. When you were a child, how often did your parents do the following:

	Never	Very Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Very Often
1. Talked to you about racism.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Said that people might treat you badly due to race.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Told you to dress in ways that are less “Black.”	1	2	3	4	5
4. Talked about something you saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Talked to you about Black people’s fight for the same rights that other people have.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Said that other people might try to limit you because of race.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Told you that being Black is nothing to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Took you to Black cultural events.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Told you it is best to act like Whites.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Done things to celebrate Black history.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Talked to you about a different view of things you learned in school.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Took you to get Black clothes (FUBU) or hair styles (e.g., corn rows).	1	2	3	4	5
13. Talked about people being proud to be Black.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Told you that Black kids must be better than White kids to get the same rewards.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Told you that Blacks are not as smart as people of other races.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Talked about the accomplishments of Black individuals.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Told you that White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Told you that learning about Black history is not important.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Bought music of Black artists for you.	1	2	3	4	5



#### 4.Racial Attitudes

For each item below, put a mark ( | ) to indicate your agreement with each statement. The lines on the scales show you where the middle is.

##### Perceptions of Racial Climate/ Beliefs about Racial Equality

Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated events.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

Racism may have been a problem in the past but it is not a major problem today.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

People of my race are more likely to be stereotyped as less competent than individuals of other races.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

People are treated the same regardless of race/ethnicity.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become successful.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

We live in a society that accepts the existence of interracial relationships.

Not true at all    ←-----|-----→    Very true

##### Support for Interracial Ties

It is important for children to have friends from many different ethnic groups.

Not important at all    ←-----|-----→    Very important

It is important for people to socialize frequently with people of different races outside of work/school.

Not important at all    ←-----|-----→    Very important

Children will have an easier time adjusting to new environments where there are other children of their same race.

Not true at all ←-----|-----→ Very true

It is important for adults to have close friends outside of their race.

Not important at all ←-----|-----→ Very important

It is important for people to live in racially mixed neighborhoods.

Not important at all ←-----|-----→ Very important

Parents should find opportunities for their children to interact with children of the same race.

Not true at all ←-----|-----→ Very true

Attending racially diverse schools is beneficial for minority children.

Not true at all ←-----|-----→ Very true

### **Race Teaching/Discussion**

It is important for schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

Not important at all ←-----|-----→ Very important

There are not enough positive examples of minority/diverse families in the media.

Not true at all ←-----|-----→ Very true

It is important for adults to teach children about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

Not important at all ←-----|-----→ Very important

It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.

Not important at all ←-----|-----→ Very important

Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

Not true at all ←-----|-----→ Very true

## 5. General Information Form

Please answer the following questions. The term “target child” refers to your son or daughter who participated in our project.

What is your relationship to the target child?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Mother
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Father
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Grandparent (SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_ )
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Other relative (SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_ )
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Guardian (SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_ )
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Other (SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_ )

Which of these best describes your race?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) African American/Black
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Caucasian/White
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Hispanic/Latino(a)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Asian American
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Native American/Indian
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Other (SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_ )

Which of these best describes your marital status?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Married (and living together)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Married, but separated
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Divorced
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Widowed
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Single, Never Married

How far did you go in school?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Less than high school
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Some high school
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) High school graduate
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) GED
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Some technical school
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Some college
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Junior College Degree (AA, AS)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) College Graduate (BA, BS)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9) Master’s Degree
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10) Doctoral or Professional Degree (PhD, MD, JD, etc.)

Please indicate your household income before taxes. You may either report your YEARLY or WEEKLY income.

YEARLY:

- ☐ Under \$10,000 yearly
- ☐ \$10,000 to \$19,999 yearly
- ☐ \$20,000 to \$29,999 yearly
- ☐ \$30,000 to \$39,999 yearly
- ☐ \$40,000 to \$49,999 yearly
- ☐ \$50,000 to \$59,999 yearly
- ☐ \$60,000 to \$69,999 yearly
- ☐ \$70,000 to \$79,999 yearly
- ☐ \$80,000 to \$89,999 yearly
- ☐ \$90,000 to \$99,999 yearly
- ☐ Over \$100,000 yearly

OR

WEEKLY:

- ☐ Under \$200 weekly
- ☐ \$200 to \$399 weekly
- ☐ \$400 to \$599 weekly
- ☐ \$600 to \$799 weekly
- ☐ \$800 to \$999 weekly
- ☐ \$1000 to \$1199 weekly
- ☐ \$1200 to \$1399 weekly
- ☐ \$1400 to \$1599 weekly
- ☐ \$1600 to \$1799 weekly
- ☐ \$1800 to \$1999 weekly
- ☐ \$Over \$2000 weekly

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